

OFFICE OF THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

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TRADE POLICY STAFF COMMITTEE

PUBLIC HEARING
ON
WTO AGRICULTURE

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THURSDAY
OCTOBER 24, 2002

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The Trade Policy Staff Committee met in Rooms 1 and 2, USTR, 1724 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., at 10:00 a.m., Carmen Suro-Bredie and Donald Eiss, Chairs, presiding.

PRESENT

Carmen Suro-Bredie, Chair (A.M.)
Donald Eiss, Chair (P.M.)
Barbara Chattin, USTR
Jonathan Coleman, USITC
Jason Hafemeister, USTR
Deborah Henke, Department of Agriculture
Mark Linscott, USTR
Cara Morrow, Department of Commerce
Ana Valdes, Department of Labor
Daniel Whitley, Department of Agriculture
John Wiecking, Department of State
Gloria Blue, USTR, Executive Secretary

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P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

10:00 a.m.

CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: This hearing will come to order. This hearing is being conducted by the Trade Policy Staff Committee, TPSC, an inter-agency body chaired by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. In addition to USTR today, there are representatives from the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, State, Labor and the U.S. International Trade Commission. Member of the USTR staff working on market access also are present.

The subject of this hearing is market access in the DOHA development agenda negotiations in the World Trade Organization, specifically for agricultural products. The DOHA declaration outlines three objectives of the agriculture negotiations: substantial improvements in market access, production with a view to phasing out all forms of export subsidies, and substantial reductions in domestic support. Market access issues for negotiation include tariffs, tariff rate quotas, tariff administration and import state trading enterprises.

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1 Testimony is welcome with as much
2 specificity as the witness can provide on general
3 negotiating objectives and/or targets, country and
4 product-specific interests or barriers, and
5 particularly measures that might be improved in the
6 context of the new negotiations including both tariffs
7 and non-tariff measures. With regard to non-tariff
8 measures, any available details on the foreign laws or
9 regulations that lie behind the barrier would also be
10 helpful. To the maximum extent possible, commodities
11 should be identified by harmonized system nomenclature
12 at the six digit level and to specify markets of
13 interest.

14 The DOHA declaration calls for modalities
15 for the negotiations to be reached by March 31, 2003
16 and submission of initial schedules by the WTO 5th
17 ministerial meeting likely to be held in mid-2003.

18 In light of the schedule for presenting
19 market access offers, the TPSC invites comment and
20 testimony on all these matters and, in particular,
21 seeks comments addressed the economic benefits and
22 costs to U.S. producers and consumers of the

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1 reductions of tariffs or non-tariff barriers on trade
2 between the U.S. and other WTO members and the
3 recommended staging schedule for reduction and
4 existing non-tariff barriers to trade and goods
5 between the U.S. and other WTO members and the
6 economic benefits and costs of removing those
7 barriers.

8 We will turn now to Barbara Chatten,
9 Deputy Assistant USTR for Agriculture who will give
10 opening remarks after which the panel will introduce
11 themselves and then we will hear from the first
12 witness. Thank you.

13 MS. CHATTIN: Thank you. U.S.
14 agricultural exports exceed \$50 billion a year
15 accounting for around 25 percent of cash receipts in
16 agriculture. Agricultural exports and imports play a
17 significant role in the U.S. economic growth and
18 output. Nevertheless, world agricultural markets
19 continue to be heavily distorted by high tariffs,
20 export subsidies, and trade distorting support. For
21 example, the global average allowed tariff under WTO
22 commitments is over 60 percent. At the same time,

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1 while U.S. agricultural tariffs are relatively low,
2 around 12 percent, there are a number of areas where
3 our trading partners would like to see further
4 liberalization by the United States.

5 WTO members have identified ambitious
6 objectives for the agriculture negotiations under the
7 DOHA development agenda calling for substantial
8 improvements in market access, reductions of with a
9 view to phasing out all forms of export subsidies and
10 substantial reductions in trade distorting domestic
11 support.

12 WTO members established a work plan to
13 achieve these objectives. Discussions on specific
14 proposals in each of the three areas have occurred in
15 the summer and fall. One more negotiating session is
16 scheduled for this year, the week of November 18.
17 Work is expected to intensify at the beginning of next
18 year as WTO members agreed that modalities were to be
19 established by March 31, 2002.

20 The United States has taken a leadership
21 role in calling for WTO members to implement these
22 objectives. In the area of market access, the U.S.

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1 has called for WTO members to apply a Swiss 25 formula
2 for reducing tariffs, a 20 percent expansion of tariff
3 rate quotas, strengthening disciplines on TRQ
4 administration, ending single desk status of state
5 trading enterprises, and ending the special
6 agricultural safeguard.

7 We are here today to hear your views on
8 achieving U.S. objectives to improve market access
9 opportunities while remaining attentive to domestic
10 concerns in addressing the various objectives of our
11 trading partners. Our hearing today builds on formal
12 and informal private sector comment, consultations
13 with Congress and the economic analysis of the ITC
14 over the past three years. We appreciate the efforts
15 you have made to contribute to this public comment
16 process through both your written comments and
17 testimony. Our inter-agency team has developed a
18 number of questions in response and we look forward to
19 hearing your replies. Thank you.

20 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: So we will now have
21 the panel introduce themselves starting with Mark.

22 MR. LINSKOTT: I am Mark Linscott, Deputy

1 Assistant USTR for Environment and Natural Resources.

2 MR. HAFEMEISTER: My name is Jason
3 Hafemeister. I am the Director for WTO Agriculture
4 Negotiations at USTR.

5 MS. CHATTIN: Barbara Chattin, Deputy
6 Assistant USTR for Agricultural Affairs.

7 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: I'm Carmen Suro-
8 Bredie and I will be chairing the TPSC hearing.

9 MS. HENKE: I'm Deborah Henke. I'm the
10 Director of the Multi-Lateral Trade Negotiation
11 Division of the Foreign Agricultural Service at USDA.

12 MR. COLEMAN: My name is Jonathan Coleman.
13 i'm with the Agriculture and Forest Products Division
14 of the United States International Trade Commission.

15 MS. MORROW: Good morning. My name is
16 Cara Morrow and I monitor agriculture for the
17 Department of Commerce.

18 MS. VALDES: Good morning. My name is Ana
19 Valdes. I am from Europe International Labor Affairs,
20 Department of Labor.

21 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you. We will
22 now ask for the first witness, Alfred Hensler,

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1 Chairman, Sweeteners Users Association. Thank you,
2 Mr. Hensler.

3 MR. HENSLER: Good morning. I don't know
4 if you're all aware. The White House grounds were
5 breached this morning just a few minutes ago while we
6 were right there. Armed guards came out and got the
7 man down and we were told to disperse. So after that,
8 I decided this is going to be a piece of cake.

9 Thank you for the opportunity to provide
10 comments today. My name is Fred Hensler. I'm the
11 senior commercial manager with Masterfoods USA, better
12 known as M&M Mars. The Sweetener Users Association
13 includes the companies that use sweeteners in food and
14 beverages as well as the trade associations that
15 represent them.

16 SUA heartily endorses the U.S. proposal
17 for global agricultural trade reform. If it is
18 adopted, we would expect the effects to be very
19 positive. The key elements of the U.S. proposal from
20 a sugar perspective are reduction in tariffs, an
21 increase in tariff rate quota quantities, elimination
22 of the special agricultural safeguard, a reduction in

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1 non-exempt domestic support, elimination of export
2 subsidies and an agreement on the date for the
3 complete elimination of tariff and quotas.

4 Unfortunately, based on the past actions
5 of this administration, we do not have much confidence
6 that this is really going to happen. Its acceptance
7 of this year's farm legislation which reversed earlier
8 reforms of the sugar program, its apparent
9 willingness to jettison the bilateral sugar trade
10 liberalization with Mexico negotiated after NAFTA and
11 its actions on steel and other issues suggest a
12 limited willingness to stand up to special interests
13 like the domestic sugar industry. If the
14 administration wants SUA and other parts of the food
15 and beverage industry to work for trade reform, it's
16 going to have to do a better job of demonstrating its
17 own commitment.

18 In contrast to most other agricultural
19 commodities, the U.S. sugar does not trade anywhere
20 near the world price. Public support for sugar
21 producers is provided in a manner that directly and
22 intentionally penalizes the producers' customers. The

1 food industry has turned to other sweeteners where
2 possible and increasingly finish products are being
3 imported from abroad rather than being produced
4 domestically because of the radical difference in the
5 sugar input costs.

6 Two types of tariffs apply to the U.S.
7 sugar imports. End quota imports are subject to a low
8 or zero tariff, over quota imports are subject to
9 tariffs designed to be prohibitive. The MFN over
10 quota tariff for raw sugar is more than twice the
11 current world sugar price while a lower but still
12 substantial over quota tariff applies to imports from
13 Mexico. Current production for sugar is in fact
14 nearly absolute.

15 A reduction in over quota tariffs using
16 the Swiss formula would be an effective way of
17 eventually reforming the U.S. sugar program, but it
18 would not be quick. Even under the best of
19 circumstances, it could be 2008 or 2009 before the
20 over quota tariff is low enough to allow additional
21 imports. There may not be a domestic confectionery
22 industry by that time. A reduction over five years in

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1 the over quota tariff is no more than 25 percent would
2 leave that tariff at only a few cents per pound. At
3 those levels, it would not make much difference
4 whether the TRQ was abolished or not.

5 The five percent cap on trade distorting
6 support would be important because the sugar program
7 accounts for a big part of that support. The cap for
8 the U.S. would be about \$10 billion. The trade
9 distorting support for sugar in each of the last few
10 years has been at least \$1 billion or more. Most
11 studies of the U.S. sugar program agree that the
12 absence of the current U.S. import barriers, the world
13 sugar price would increase. However, the price would
14 not rise to current U.S. sugar prices. Therefore, the
15 U.S. domestic price would be lower. This would cause
16 some reduction in U.S. sugar production but would not
17 by any means eliminate the domestic industry. All
18 these studies find that the economic effect would be
19 positive for our nation.

20 SUA believes that many positive effects
21 will result from the multi-lateral trade
22 liberalization. Consumers would pay less for food.

1 The nearly extinct independent cane refining sector
2 would have much needed relief. There are only three
3 cane refining companies left. Taxpayers would benefit
4 because substantial quantities of secondary imports
5 would enter the United States compared to almost none
6 at present generating substantial tariff revenue.
7 Food and beverage companies would benefit in a variety
8 of ways. American workers would benefit because one
9 of the most unfortunate effects of the current sugar
10 policy is its tendency to encourage movement of food
11 manufacturing offshore would either disappear or be
12 reduced.

13 In summary, multi-lateral sugar trade
14 liberalization would help the U.S. economy. In
15 addition to the annual economic benefit of between
16 \$500 million and \$2 billion, liberalization would
17 encourage product innovation, stimulate demand, keep
18 jobs in the United States, provide benefits to low
19 income Americans, and help maintain a viable cane
20 refining industry. Current U.S. sugar policies harm
21 the national interest. Liberalization would be
22 pursued not only in the DOHA round but also in every

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1 other trade negotiation in which the United States is
2 engaged. Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you, Mr.
4 Hensler.

5 If I could remind the witnesses that the
6 panel would like to keep their testimony to five
7 minutes as we laid out. Now for questions. The first
8 two questions will come from U.S. Department of
9 Agriculture.

10 MS. HENKE: Thank you very much, Mr.
11 Hensler. The first question we have is on your
12 calculations for the phase down of the sugar tariff.
13 Could you give us more information about how you made
14 these calculations using the Swiss formula that was
15 proposed in the U.S. proposal, if not verbally perhaps
16 in writing.

17 MR. HENSLER: We'd be happy to get back to
18 you in writing.

19 MS. HENKE: Thank you.

20 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Sorry to interrupt.
21 Could you send that information to Gloria Blue by
22 email so it would be gblue@ustr.gov.

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1 MR. HENSLER: Yes, we will.

2 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you.

3 MS. HENKE: Thank you. The second
4 question is if the U.S. follows your recommendation to
5 end tariff protection from sugar, how do you suggest
6 the sugar program would have to be changed?

7 MR. HENSLER: What I'd like to see is have
8 it go like everything else, go to a marketing loan
9 type arrangement where the consumers are not
10 penalized. It's spread over the entire industry where
11 the producers are protected by a limit on how low the
12 sugar price would go and it's not actually affected in
13 the actual marketing price of the commodity.

14 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Our next question
15 is from the Department of Commerce.

16 MS. MORROW: Good morning.

17 MR. HENSLER: Good morning.

18 MS. MORROW: In your submission, you note
19 the potential for trade remedies such as anti-dumping
20 measures to be used to frustrate market access. Do
21 you have any recommendations on improving WTO rules in
22 this area?

1 MR. HENSLER: Improving WTO rules. Not
2 off the top of my head. No, I don't.

3 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: If you would like
4 to reflect on that.

5 MR. HENSLER: If we could get back to you
6 in writing, we'd be happy to respond. Thank you.
7 Would that go directly to you?

8 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: No. Just send it
9 to Gloria and she'll send them to the whole panel.
10 And your written response will be part of the public
11 record as well.

12 MR. HENSLER: Yes.

13 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: And then the last
14 question will be by the Department of Labor.

15 MS. VALDES: Good morning, Mr. Hensler.
16 Has your organization received any comments from the
17 domestic sugar producers? If so, what is their
18 position?

19 MR. HENSLER: Well, their position would
20 be exact opposite of ours. There are only about
21 10,000 sugar producers in the United States now.
22 There's 287,000,000 consumers and right now they are

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1 controlling the sugar policy of this country.

2 MS. VALDES: Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Does the panel have
4 any more questions? No. If not, thank you so much,
5 Mr. Hensler.

6 MR. HENSLER: Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Sorry you had such
8 an exciting morning.

9 The next witness is Mara Burr, Special
10 Counsel for International Trade Policy, the Humane
11 Society of the United States. Welcome.

12 MS. BURR: Thank you for the opportunity
13 to be here today. I will uphold the tradition of
14 brevity and I will not regale you with a number of
15 figures and import statistics so perhaps I'll make you
16 happy as well.

17 The so-called three pillars of the
18 agriculture negotiations are substantial improvements
19 in market access through reduction with a view to
20 phasing out all forms of export subsidies and
21 substantial reduction in domestic support. Each of
22 these objectives is important and must be addressed if

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1 the DOHA development agenda is to come to a successful
2 conclusion.

3 There is a fourth area that must also be
4 addressed before anyone can rightly claim the DOHA
5 agriculture negotiations a success. That subject is
6 non-trade concerns including the important issue of
7 animal welfare. Market access for agricultural goods
8 in the context of the World Trade Organization
9 negotiations contemplates the reduction or
10 prohibitively high tariffs, unrealistic tariff rate
11 quotas and other domestic trade policy that unfairly
12 harms foreign agriculture producers.

13 The heart of the problem in the
14 agriculture negotiations is how to strike a balance
15 between encouraging and supporting domestic producer
16 on the one hand and liberalizing access to the
17 domestic agricultural markets on the other. There are
18 a great many questions we all must answer when
19 approaching the issue of agriculture and market access
20 for agricultural goods. Market access for
21 agricultural goods is a multi-lane highway with
22 numerous countries looking toward the WTO negotiations

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1 to provide new and expanded markets for their
2 agricultural goods. It is not just a matter of U.S.
3 producers looking for greater access to foreign
4 markets. It is also a matter of foreign nations
5 looking to obtain greater access to the United States
6 market.

7 There are many questions that our trade
8 negotiators must consider in the DOHA development
9 negotiations of the WTO. For example, will greater
10 liberalization of agriculture markets cause some
11 producers to lose market share and eventually be
12 forced from this sector altogether? Is it in our
13 national interest to see U.S. agricultural operations
14 shift from the United States to other countries? Are
15 there lessons to be learned from our trading partners
16 when it comes to the agricultural sector? And do a
17 majority of U.S. citizens consider agriculture an
18 industry of importance to our national security? Are
19 there adequate precautions and remedies built into the
20 WTS system to allow for the U.S. to prohibit the
21 import of products that are abhorrent to the
22 sensibilities of U.S. consumers and/or products that

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1 could adversely affect the health or safety of
2 consumers in the U.S.?

3 The U.S. is in a world-wide struggle
4 against terrorism. Have we secured the U.S.
5 agricultural sector from terrorist attacks? These are
6 but a few important questions that must be considered
7 in the DOHA development negotiations. Negotiating
8 significant reductions in tariffs and tariff rate
9 quotas may allow for greater market access for U.S.
10 goods but such negotiations will also result in
11 greater access to the U.S. market for foreign
12 agricultural goods and increased competition for U.S.
13 producers. That means that products from developed
14 and developing countries will be competing with the
15 U.S. produced goods. Given the divergent standards in
16 many countries concerning agriculture production,
17 environmental protection and health and safety
18 standards, some of these products may be significantly
19 inferior to U.S. products.

20 Nevertheless, products produced in
21 questionable conditions and subject to nonexistent or
22 minimal health and safety standards may be

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1 significantly cheaper than U.S. products. As such,
2 these products may be attractive to some consumers.

3 The United States must ensure that both
4 U.S. products and imported products are safe for
5 consumers and allow for consumers to make informed
6 choices. Agricultural products should be labeled and
7 the label should contain information concerning how
8 the product was produced and under what conditions.
9 There should be strict standards on any product
10 labeled organic, chemical and pharmaceutical free.
11 Animals that are force fed antibiotics and other drugs
12 to artificially enhance growth should be labeled as
13 such and now allowed under any circumstances to be
14 labeled in a misleading manner.

15 The United States should carefully
16 consider the environmental and agriculture connection
17 and find ways to address the environmental degradation
18 caused by agriculture in the U.S. and in other
19 countries. Why should this be part of the WTO
20 negotiations? Because greater liberalization
21 agriculture markets should not be used as
22 encouragement for unsustainable agricultural

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1 practices. The connection between the environmental
2 fall-out from intensive or factory farming operations
3 should be examined before these agriculture methods
4 are exported to developing countries.

5 Many developing countries presently are
6 unable to compete against the U.S. or European farmers
7 because they do not enjoy the comparative advantages
8 of these producers brought on by years of government
9 subsidization or protected markets. The market
10 distortions caused by U.S. and European agriculture
11 policies should not be wrought upon developing
12 countries trying to compete in the global agricultural
13 markets. That is, the developed world should stop
14 dumping agricultural products on developing countries.

15 Developing country products produced in a
16 manner that promotes environmental protection, animal
17 welfare and health should be certified labeled and
18 given preferential duty free treatment and other
19 preferential market access. The United States and
20 other developed WTO members should work to encourage
21 sustainable agricultural practices in developing
22 countries through incentive programs. The United

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1 States already has a number of programs in place to
2 encourage development in the developing world. The
3 generalized system of preferences, the Andean Trade
4 Preference Act and the African Growth and Opportunity
5 Act as well as other bilateral agreements.

6 The United States should put in place a
7 program to encourage and reward developing countries
8 for undertaking sustainable agricultural programs that
9 promote human health, animal welfare and environmental
10 protection.

11 The last area I want to address concerns
12 the non-trade issues being discussed in the DOHA
13 agricultural negotiations. The issue of animal
14 welfare is important to U.S. citizens as well as
15 citizens from other countries. The European community
16 tabled a proposal on animal welfare to the WTO in June
17 of 2000. Since that time, very little movement on
18 this proposal has taken place. If there is a
19 perception that the European proposal is merely a
20 protections ploy, then it is incumbent upon other WTO
21 members to offer proposals that will be more
22 acceptable.

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1 The intransigent shown by WTO members over
2 the European proposal appears to have little to do
3 with animal welfare. Rather, the negative reception
4 given to the animal welfare proposal appears to be
5 reaction to European agricultural policies over the
6 last 30 years. The HSUS believes that animal welfare,
7 specifically compensation payments to farmers pursuant
8 to the green box and the agreement on agriculture must
9 be squarely addressed in the negotiations. If the
10 European proposal is not acceptable to other WTO
11 members, then the HSUS challenges the United States
12 and other WTO members to offer up a proposal that will
13 be acceptable.

14 I want to thank you for the time to
15 address you today.

16 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you very
17 much. The first question will be asked by the
18 Department of Commerce.

19 MS. MORROW: This question is about
20 labeling. Labels in the United States are regulated
21 to ensure consumer safety and there are various
22 voluntary schemes such as the new organic standards

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1 that allow producers to specify if they have gone
2 beyond the legal limits. Some have expressed concern
3 that mandatory labeling that is overly burdensome
4 could greatly reduce the ability of developing
5 countries to compete in global markets. Do you
6 believe non-trade concerns related to production and
7 processing methods can be addressed through voluntary
8 labeling systems?

9 MS. BURR: I think there's a place for
10 voluntary systems. The only problem with voluntary
11 systems is that you can not ensure -- well, obviously
12 you can't ensure compliance and, 2) who sets the
13 standard really? I think we need to go beyond
14 national standards or nation by nation standards, and
15 I think it's appropriate in the WTO context with 144
16 members discussing agricultural liberalization to
17 discuss the issue of how do we promote organic
18 products, pharmaceutical-free products, free range
19 products. And I think in the WTO context it would be
20 a way that you can get some agreement among countries
21 of what those labels mean, how they could be employed,
22 and perhaps a mechanism could be set up in which they

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1 may be voluntary but at least there would be
2 definitions agreed to on a multi-lateral basis.

3 So voluntary could work but I think in
4 order for such a system to work to be relied upon by
5 consumers, you're going to go beyond that. There will
6 have to be national programs in place and then a
7 multi-lateral context for taking the next step to
8 having a multi-lateral agreement or multi-lateral
9 standard.

10 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
11 will be posed by USDA.

12 MS. HENKE: Do you believe that under the
13 current domestic support rules the European Union
14 could include compensation payments for animal welfare
15 in the green box as long as these programs are
16 designed in such a way that they are not trade-
17 distorted?

18 MS. BURR: Yes. I believe that such
19 payments are contemplated in the green box. The only
20 problem with it is that if you look at the actual
21 wording, it talks about environment or government
22 regulation. Animal welfare is obviously not

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1 specifically addressed and I think one problem with
2 the way that the green box is worded is it is subject
3 to varying interpretations and I think the European
4 concern, as well as groups like the Humane Society of
5 the United States and others, is that if all the
6 countries believe it's in there now, we're in the
7 midst of agriculture negotiations, what would be the
8 harm to explicitly write it in?

9 I think that's been a European problem for
10 quite a while. They are not as comfortable with the
11 U.S. belief that law develops and it can be developed
12 in an interpretative way. Most of the countries in
13 Europe are code law countries meaning if it's not
14 written down, if it's not in the code, it's not the
15 law. And so we need to deal with that disparate
16 interpretation of how law is made.

17 So while I believe the intention in the
18 green box was to have payments like this, I think we
19 need to go one step further and actually write it in
20 and, if that's done, then I think the U.S. obviously
21 could take advantage of it as well as the European
22 Union. And I think it's very important to make sure

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1 these are non-trade distorting payments. Nobody wants
2 to see this as protections and nobody wants to see
3 this harm producers in other countries. That's not
4 the intent behind it, and we sincerely believe that it
5 should not be the result of such action.

6 MS. HENKE: Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next two
8 questions are by USTR.

9 MR. LINSKOTT: Thank you, Mara. My first
10 question also relates to labeling. How does the
11 Humane Society view discussions in the WTO Committee
12 on Trade and Environment under paragraph 32,
13 subparagraph 3 of the Doha declaration as being
14 relevant to its position on labeling for process and
15 production methods and, more specifically, does the
16 Humane Society believe that existing WTO disciplines
17 in the TBT and SBS agreements provide sufficient scope
18 for labeling programs, whether voluntary or mandatory
19 and, if not, does the Humane Society advocate a
20 specific mandate for new negotiations related to eco
21 labeling?

22 MS. BURR: I guess one problem going back

1 to the Doha declaration is that there were, I think,
2 three or four incantations of the declaration. The
3 final one that came out said in labeling for
4 environmental purposes. Now, I'm not certain if that
5 environmental purpose language was meant to exclude
6 other purposes for labeling or if it is to be
7 interpreted as very broad and encompassing a number of
8 reasons for labeling that could fall under
9 environment. We're back a bit to the green box
10 question. If it's not there specifically, can it be
11 covered in the language that is there now?

12 So that's a question I think first for
13 negotiators what was meant by that language. I
14 believe that negotiations on eco labeling could
15 encompass animal welfare labeling because there is an
16 environmental connection. I believe also TBT
17 contemplates the idea of labeling and probably would
18 allow most types of labeling. The problem with the
19 way the WTO has functioned is -- I believe, and I'm
20 not sure many people will disagree with me -- what
21 people thought happened at the end of the Uruguay
22 round and the commitments that we'd undertaken seemed

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1 to have changed somewhat in dispute settlement over
2 the years and so I think it's very important if we're
3 going to talk about labeling in the agricultural
4 context, we should talk about it in agriculture and so
5 I don't believe new negotiations are mandated. I
6 believe that the parallel negotiations in agriculture
7 and on equal labeling and in the TBT could actually
8 all address the subject and one answer could come out
9 of all three. I don't think new negotiations need to
10 be initiated.

11 MR. LINSKOTT: Okay. My second question
12 relates to your testimony from the Humane Society
13 which highlights the connection between liberalization
14 and agricultural markets and environmental
15 degradation. Does the Humane Society view the mandate
16 in paragraph 51 of the Doha declaration to identify
17 and debate the environmental effects of all areas of
18 negotiation as an opportunity examine the
19 environmental implications of negotiations on
20 agricultural reform in the WTO?

21 MS. BURR: Absolutely. I think it was
22 intended to be broad and intended to look at several

1 aspects of how the negotiations are going forward and
2 how trade liberalization can affect the environment.
3 And obviously it can affect the environment in
4 positive ways as well as negative ways. And our
5 belief is that so often we get in these negotiating
6 rounds, if you will. Each sector is looked to in
7 isolation and, quite frankly, many of the negotiations
8 touch and concern the environment. That may not be
9 clearer in any other sector than it is in agriculture
10 because you do have the factory/farm issue.

11 You do have the issue of the feedlots and
12 the environmental run-off from feedlots, the soil
13 contamination, water contamination, air contamination
14 and those practices, we believe, are important in the
15 United States and we don't want developing countries
16 to believe the only way they can compete in
17 agriculture is to develop practices that are
18 unsustainable for their particular circumstances and
19 are unsustainable generally. And so it would be hoped
20 that we could realistically address the environmental
21 impact that agriculture has and figure out a multi-
22 lateral way to address it so that countries are free

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1 to adopt practices that are sustainable and that allow
2 them to compete in the global market place.

3 MR. LINSKOTT: Thank you.

4 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: More questions?
5 Thank you very much.

6 MS. BURR: Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next witness,
8 Carolyn Gleason on behalf of the California Cling
9 Peach Board. Welcome.

10 MS. GLEASON: Good morning, Madam Chair
11 and members of the committee. I'm Carolyn Gleason.
12 I'm here today on behalf of the California canned
13 peach industry. Normally, this is an industry that
14 makes a special point to attend these kinds of
15 hearings in person but there is a world canned fruit
16 conference underway in Spain that made that impossible

17 The U.S. canned peach industry has four
18 products that they consider most important, those
19 being canned peaches, canned fruit mixtures, peach
20 pulp concentrate and frozen peaches, the HS numbers
21 for which are listed in Attachment 1 to our written
22 submission.

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1 The U.S. tariff is 17 percent on canned
2 peaches and peach pulp concentrate, 14.9 percent on
3 canned fruit mixtures and 14.5 percent on frozen
4 peaches. So every one of these line items are
5 relatively sizable U.S. tariffs. Moreover, every one
6 of them has been identified as an import sensitive
7 agricultural product in the TPA legislation.

8 Many of you know from this industry's
9 prior testimony how import sensitive this industry and
10 how essential it is that the industry retain its
11 current U.S. tariff levels. The industry has been
12 consistent in this position across an array of trade
13 initiatives.

14 In all of them, Doha included, the
15 industry wants to be exempted from tariff reductions.
16 If exemptions aren't allowed, it wants to maintain its
17 tariff rates to the maximum extent allowed under that
18 particular agreement.

19 The industry's import sensitivity is
20 principally the consequence of extravagant EU canned
21 peach subsidies provided without interruption for over
22 two decades. Because of those subsidies, U.S. growers

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1 and processors have systematically lost their market
2 in Europe, most of their market in Japan and more
3 recently large parts of their markets in Canada and
4 Mexico.

5 If you take a look for a moment at
6 Attachment 2 to our written submission, you'll see
7 that in this past marketing year ending May, U.S.
8 canned peach exports fell to their lowest level in 40
9 years and are down 40 percent from a year ago. Those
10 losses are occurring because the U.S. industry can't
11 compete with the \$4 case subsidized price differential
12 being offered by EU exporters. Since the U.S.
13 industry can't match those subsidized prices, its
14 choice today is either to sell in the U.S. market or
15 not sell at all.

16 What this means in the context of the WTO
17 talks is that until disciplines are laid down the
18 genuinely reduce or eliminate EU domestic supports on
19 canned fruit, market access reforms in the canned
20 fruit sector will only go down to the benefit of the
21 industry in Europe, not California. In fact, if those
22 market access reforms require meaningful cuts in U.S.

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1 canned fruit tariff rates, those quote "reforms" could
2 very well put this U.S. industry out of business. Low
3 priced imports are already at harmful levels in the
4 U.S. market. Again, if you look at Attachment 3 to
5 the industry's written submission, you'll see that
6 annual U.S. imports have now reached a record level of
7 3 million cases or over 15 percent of U.S. production.
8 That's the equivalent of \$54 million in lost sales.

9 Most of that import volume, 75 percent, is
10 low priced products from Greece and Spain. Since the
11 U.S. market is mature and dominated by institutional
12 sales, these subsidized imports in all instances not
13 only prevent the sale of U.S. produced canned peaches
14 but also lower the overall price structure in the U.S.
15 market. As a result, producers in California are
16 making no money in today's market.

17 These import pressures are on top of other
18 turbulent industry challenges. The industry is still
19 trying to stabilize itself from the bankruptcy two
20 years ago of TriValley Growers which at the time was
21 the industry's largest processor and grower-owned co-
22 op. Just this year, one of the three processing

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1 plants remaining from the TriValley bankruptcy had to
2 close its doors.

3 Both the industry and the U.S. government
4 are working hard to return to the U.S. canned peach
5 industry to profitability. Industry-funded tree pole
6 programs are under way as are record level U.S.
7 government purchase. None of these efforts will
8 produce sustainable improvements though if the
9 industry continues to lose its tariff protection.
10 Reduced U.S. duties can only mean that more U.S. sales
11 will be lost and price levels will further
12 deteriorate.

13 Because the canned fruit industry is so
14 much more fragile today than it was during the Uruguay
15 round, it can't afford to support inflexible market
16 access modalities that will lead to that result.
17 There needs to be a mechanism for recognizing its
18 import sensitivity and preserving its tariff
19 protection. Inflexible reduction modalities would
20 only be giving subsidized EU canned fruit greater
21 dominance in every global market including this one.

22 As U.S. negotiators work towards a market

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1 access consensus in Geneva, we ask that you view with
2 favor new more flexible mechanisms that will safeguard
3 this industry's interest. I guess I'll improvise for
4 10 seconds and say if you can find a modality that,
5 for example, takes tariff peaks down to 20 percent ad
6 valorem, to 20 percent ad valorem, apply that or the
7 applied rate and make gentle linear cuts off of that,
8 something that insulates this industry's tariffs from
9 substantial reductions.

10 On behalf of the industry, I'd be happy to
11 take questions if you have them.

12 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you very
13 much, Ms. Gleason. The first question will be posed
14 by the ITC.

15 MR. COLEMAN: Good morning, Ms. Gleason.
16 The United States as well as some other countries are
17 proposing substantial reductions in domestic support.
18 How would these proposals address your concerns over
19 subsidized imports from the European Union?

20 MS. GLEASON: Frankly, we're not
21 optimistic about the objectives in the Doha round vis
22 à vis domestic supports. This industry had encouraged

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1 a U.S. proposal that mandated product specific
2 reductions and that recommendation did not survive
3 into the U.S. proposal. And so it feels like what is
4 underway in this round will mimic what occurred in the
5 last round and that is by clustering a group of
6 domestic supports, the EU has leverage to maintain
7 very high levels of support in certain sub-sectors.
8 They have made clear because this has been pushed by
9 U.S. negotiators now over two decades that canned
10 fruit subsidies, oddly enough, are quite important to
11 their political dynamic and, in particular, to Greece
12 and some of the southern Med countries. So we're not
13 optimistic.

14 MR. COLEMAN: Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
16 will be posed by USDA.

17 MS. HENKE: Thank you. Thank you, Ms.
18 Gleason. Could you explain the way in which the U.S.
19 proposal would increase the export market potential
20 for your industry?

21 MS. GLEASON: Yes. As I mentioned briefly
22 in my testimony, the export market picture is every

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1 bit as bleak as the import market picture for the
2 reason that highly subsidized Greek product is taking
3 that market away. It happened in Japan, it happened
4 in Korea, it happened in Canada, Mexico and so forth,
5 even in instances like Canada and Mexico where we have
6 a tariff preference. So the view of the industry is
7 if you take global tariffs down, those markets will in
8 all likelihood simply provide more generous access to
9 Greek exporters.

10 MS. HENKE: Thank you

11 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
12 from USTR.

13 MR. HAFEMEISTER: Thank you. Just want to
14 follow up on something you mentioned about import
15 sensitive sectors and possible exceptions or
16 differential treatment for them. I wonder if you have
17 any suggestions or recommendations on how to define an
18 import sensitive sector in terms of the negotiations
19 on agriculture.

20 MS. GLEASON: It's been defined in TPA, as
21 you know, as those sectors that had the minimum
22 reductions in the Uruguay round and that's a

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1 definition that this industry does not take issue
2 with. It strikes me as maybe the easiest model for
3 everyone to understand for definitional purposes
4 because if you're going to lay down modalities in
5 Geneva that give any flexibility on import
6 sensitivity, I can well imagine that it's an
7 opportunity for mischief on the part of many of our
8 trading partners. So something that's simple,
9 something that's verifiable, something that keeps
10 loopholes to a minimum I think would be preferable.

11 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you.

12 The next witness is Jack Roney, Director
13 of Economics/Policy Analysis at the American Sugar
14 Alliance. I think you have a fan club getting your
15 document, so we'll wait for a second.

16 MR. RONEY: Don Phillips was planning to
17 accompany me. He may be here any minute.

18 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: I'm sorry. We're
19 running ahead which is uncharacteristic.

20 I think we're ready. Thank you.

21 MR. RONEY: Thank you for the opportunity
22 to testify on behalf of the U.S. sugar industry. I'm

1 Jack Roney, Director of Economics and Policy Analysis
2 for the American Sugar Alliance. The ASA is the
3 national coalition of growers, processors, and
4 refiners of sugar beet, sugar cane and corn for
5 sweeteners. I may soon be accompanied by ASA Trade
6 Advisor Don Phillips.

7 The U.S. sugar industry strongly supports
8 the multi-lateral trade negotiations launched at Doha.
9 We applaud the leadership shown by the administration
10 in putting forward this ambitious proposal last July
11 on the agricultural negotiations. The U.S. sugar
12 industry has long endorsed the goal of global free
13 trading sugar. Our producers are efficient by world
14 standards and would welcome the opportunity to compete
15 on a genuine level playing field.

16 The world sugar industry is now and has
17 historically been characterized by a vast and complex
18 array of government intervention that facilitates and
19 even encourages the dumping of sugar onto the world
20 market. World dump market prices have averaged less
21 than half the world average cost of producing sugar
22 over the past two decades. Government intervention

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1 and the pervasive dumping that results from it must be
2 eliminated.

3 If these policies are not eliminated, a
4 significant reduction in U.S. tariffs on sugar and
5 sugar-containing products or an expansion of the
6 tariff rate quotas on these products would have a
7 ruinous effect on American sugar farmers. The U.S.
8 market would be swamped by subsidized and dumped
9 foreign sugar. Producer prices and incomes would fall
10 sharply and massive sugar loan forfeitures to the
11 government would mean major costs to U.S. taxpayers.
12 American consumers would not benefit from the
13 catastrophic drop in producer prices. History has
14 shown that food manufacturers and retailers do not
15 pass savings from lower producer prices for sugar
16 along to consumers.

17 The U.S. proposal to the WTO on market
18 access is an important step forward. This across the
19 board approach, however, will not suffice to eliminate
20 the trade distorting practices that prevail in the
21 world sugar market. Many of these practices are non-
22 transparent and do not fall readily into established

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1 WTO categories. Thus, they are unlikely to be
2 captured by the administration's broad brush approach.

3 These practices would include, among
4 others, state trading enterprises, income supports,
5 indirect export subsidies, infrastructural subsidies,
6 debt forgiveness, exchange rate manipulation, and
7 cross subsidies from programs such as sucrose ethanol.
8 We are developing detailed information on these types
9 of subsidies in a number of major countries. We will
10 provide this information to the administration within
11 the next few weeks.

12 We are also deeply concerned by recent
13 proposals from the Kairns Group and other WTO members
14 which would provide all developing countries much
15 lower levels of obligation and longer staging periods.
16 Developing countries account for fully three quarters
17 of global sugar production and exports, and the sugar
18 markets in many of these countries are significantly
19 distorted by government policies. Concentrating
20 reforms on the developed world while providing special
21 and differential treatment to developing countries
22 would doom to failure WTO efforts to deal with the

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1 pervasive problems affecting the world sugar market.
2 Developed country sugar producers would not survive
3 during a transition process, however efficient they
4 may be.

5 To bring effective reform to the world
6 sugar market, the same level of commitment and the
7 same schedule of implementation must apply to both
8 developed and developing countries. It is essential
9 that the administration pursue comprehensive, sector-
10 specific negotiations within the broader framework of
11 the WTO agricultural negotiations. Such an approach
12 would involve the identification and elimination of
13 all significant trade-distorting practices in all
14 countries. Unless all significant trade-distorting
15 practices in the sugar sector are eliminated, this
16 round of the WTO negotiations will not have reformed
17 the world sugar market. World sugar market prices
18 would still not reflect the costs of producing sugar.
19 Further increases in market access would only expose
20 American producers and other producers around the
21 world to ruinously low dump market prices.

22 Negotiation of the elimination of sugar

1 trade distortions must proceed in tandem with the
2 broader negotiations. Attempts to deal with specific
3 practices after rigid formulas have already been
4 agreed to would deprive negotiators of the leverage
5 they need to address such practices. Only a sector
6 specific approach can ensure that implementation
7 commitments are appropriately timed and coordinated
8 and, most importantly, achieved and enforced.

9 In conclusion, the U.S. sugar industry
10 strongly supports the WTO negotiations on agriculture.
11 We applaud the recent proposal put forward by the
12 administration but this across the board approach must
13 be supplemented by effective and comprehensive sector
14 specific negotiations. Further increases in access to
15 the U.S. sugar market must occur only after our
16 negotiators have secured firm commitments to eliminate
17 widespread and often nontransparent policies that have
18 grossly distorted the world sugar market.

19 Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

20 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you very
21 much, Mr. Roney, and welcome to Mr. Phillips. The
22 first question will be asked by USDA.

1 MS. HENKE: Thank you, Mr. Roney. In your
2 testimony you have stated that you're developing
3 detailed information about the foreign practices that
4 damage the world sugar market. This would be of great
5 use to the negotiators and we'd like to know what the
6 status of that information is and have you elaborate
7 a little more and perhaps be a little more precise
8 about when you'd be able to share that with us.

9 MR. RONEY: We have contracted with LMC
10 International, renowned commodity analysis firm in
11 Oxford, England, to do this work for us and it is
12 taking some time because of the request that we made
13 of them to describe for us not just the transparent
14 practices that fit neatly into the WTO cones of
15 distortion such as domestic supports, import tariffs
16 and export subsidies. We've asked them to look at the
17 nontransparent barriers as well and that's taking some
18 digging. We have initially asked them to look at what
19 we identify as the 13 major players in the world sugar
20 market, one of which is the EU, so they're really
21 looking at 15 countries there with the same policy.
22 We expect to have their full findings available in

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1 early November and we're trying to expedite this as
2 best we can because we know time is important, but the
3 information is very important. We're going back to
4 make sure that we're uncovering everything that we can
5 and make it as explicit as possible.

6 MS. HENKE: Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Once it's complete,
8 if you would like to submit it for the record, if you
9 send it to Gloria Blue, she will have it in the
10 reading room and share it with the panel. Thank you.

11 MR. RONEY: I'd be delighted. Thank you.

12 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
13 by USTR.

14 MR. HAFEMEISTER: We noticed in your
15 written submission a reference to ethanol subsidy
16 programs in Brazil and our understanding is that these
17 programs have in the past encouraged over-production
18 of sugar resulting in increased capacity and more
19 sugar on world markets. We have a question for you
20 which relates to how new disciplines in the WTO might
21 appropriately address a policy like this that has been
22 in place in the past and may not be in place in the

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1 future. I was wondering if you had any idea of how we
2 might discipline this type of historical measure in a
3 prospective way.

4 MR. RONEY: Thank you, Mr. Hafemeister.
5 You've hit on one of our biggest dilemmas in how to
6 address these types of nontransparent barriers. In
7 the case of Brazil, we're looking at a policy that's
8 been in place since 1975. Since that time, they have
9 quintupled their cane production to become the second
10 biggest cane producer in the world, second only to
11 India. At times, as much as two-thirds of that cane
12 has gone into ethanol. The government subsidies
13 permitted them to build a network of mill distilleries
14 around the country that could process cane either into
15 ethanol or into sugar. Their entire current capacity
16 now as the world's largest sugar producer and exporter
17 is based on two and a half decades of ethanol
18 subsidies.

19 What is difficult and elusive within the
20 WTO context is Brazil's contention that they are not
21 directly subsidizing their cane producers. In strict
22 WTO sense, that's true because the subsidies have been

1 geared more toward ethanol production over the years.
2 But the problem is that when their ethanol subsidies
3 decline or when world oil prices are relatively low,
4 that the producers of sugar cane can easily switch
5 their production of cane from ethanol to sugar without
6 having to build any new mills, and that's what's
7 enabled them in the 1990s when ethanol subsidies
8 faded, oil prices were low, that Brazil in just a
9 three or four year period was able to triple its sugar
10 production and virtually quintuple its sugar exports
11 from one or two million tons per year to as much as 12
12 million tons per year over just a short period during
13 which world sugar prices were plummeting from 14 cents
14 per pound to four cents per pound.

15 So clearly, Brazil was not reacting to
16 opportunities in the world sugar market. They were
17 simply reacting to the fact that they were getting
18 less for the sugar that was going into ethanol and in
19 the process played a major role in driving down world
20 sugar prices. They were able to continue to do that,
21 at least in part because they dramatically devalued
22 their rial during that period as much as 40 percent at

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1 one time.

2 This is a long-winded way to say that the
3 problem is very difficult and to acknowledge that we
4 have not yet been able to identify a way in future WTO
5 disciplines to address cross subsidization of that
6 sort. It's something that I think we need to first of
7 all make sure that the U.S. administration is aware of
8 the pernicious nature of these subsidies over the
9 years and what we'd like to do is work with you to
10 find a way to address that kind of oblique cross
11 subsidization that is not direct, it's not
12 transparent by WTO definitions, but it's had a
13 profound effect on Brazil's ability to become the
14 world's biggest producer and exporter of sugar over a
15 fairly short amount of time.

16 MR. PHILLIPS: As Jack said, I think the
17 key thing, we don't know necessarily how it could
18 best be dealt with but I think that is something we
19 want to discuss further.

20 One thing I'd just elaborate on a point
21 that Jack made is the question of devaluation which
22 has also had a major impact on the market. This is

1 even more difficult perhaps to deal with in the scope
2 of trade negotiations although we note in TPA there is
3 mention of this as a problem that needs to be
4 considered. But because of these devaluations, not
5 just in sugar but in many agricultural products,
6 Brazil has been put in a very strong competitive
7 position and they've played a highly disruptive role,
8 not only in the sugar market but coffee and a number
9 of other markets.

10 So I don't know how or whether you can
11 deal with this in a WTO context but I think it's
12 something that needs to be considered and I would
13 mention it's not just a concern of United States or
14 the U.S. sugar industry. We've talked to a number of
15 other industries, representatives, for example, in
16 Central America, and they're also very concerned about
17 the impact that Brazil is having on international
18 commodity markets that they're interested in. Thank
19 you.

20 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you. The
21 next question is by the ITC.

22 MR. COLEMAN: For the next WTO

1 negotiations, the United States as well as some other
2 countries have proposed substantial reductions in
3 domestic support, the elimination of export subsidies
4 as well as further disciplines on state trading
5 enterprises. To what extent do these proposals
6 address your concerns about distortions in
7 international trigger markets?

8 MR. RONEY: Those are very important
9 suggested disciplines and we support them
10 wholeheartedly. We hope that they'll have a
11 substantial impact on the world sugar market.
12 However, the most important point that I think we seek
13 to make here today is that those disciplines alone
14 will probably not have an adequate effect on the world
15 sugar market to enable countries such as the United
16 States to further open their markets without falling
17 prey to subsidized exports. What those proposals do
18 is address some very important sets of subsidies, but
19 they don't nearly begin to address the broad array of
20 subsidies, particularly the nontransparent ones, that
21 are so prevalent in the world sugar market. So
22 there's progress there but that alone would not be

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1 adequate. We've got to look at the whole array and
2 what we believe would be the most practical. In fact,
3 probably the only viable way to be sector specific
4 negotiations in sugar, all countries, all policies.
5 Nothing off the table.

6 MR. PHILLIPS: I think one of the things
7 we want to do once we've gotten these studies together
8 is to meet with the USTR and the USDA, other members
9 of the team and sort of go through these and perhaps
10 see to what the extent some of the proposals can deal
11 with them, the extent to which they can't and to which
12 supplementary efforts are going to be needed.

13 I think another question arises. for
14 example, in the disciplines that are proposed on STEs
15 as to how well they will actually work. We have a
16 situation with China which I'm somewhat familiar with
17 where we negotiated very strict rules on STEs, much
18 stricter than what the WTO requires, but they don't
19 seem to be at this point working remarkably well in
20 terms of opening the markets. There are those kind of
21 questions obviously out there as well and I think, as
22 Jack mentioned at the outset, there's also the concern

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1 about how this special and differential treatment is
2 going to play into this because if, in fact, there are
3 these very distinctly different levels of commitments,
4 your schedules for developing countries, especially
5 for a market like sugar that's dominated for
6 developing countries it would really undercut any
7 effort to reform the market.

8 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: And the last
9 question by the Department of Commerce.

10 MS. MORROW: You've emphasized today and
11 in your written testimony an interest in a sectorial
12 approach to negotiations. What type of disciplines
13 would you recommend pursuing in this context?

14 MR. RONEY: That would be something that
15 we would want to work with the administration on.
16 We're not far along yet to suggest specific
17 disciplines. I think what we need to sort our first
18 are what policies we're going to go after, what we're
19 able to identify, and prioritize those and then work
20 with the administration on the type of disciplines
21 that would be most effective.

22 MR. PHILLIPS: The only thing I'd add to

1 that. It may not be a question of broad new
2 disciplines. It may be a question of the specific
3 barrier and getting a commitment to eliminate that
4 barrier. But I think we can't pre-judge it right now.

5 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you very
6 much.

7 Our next witness is Susan Brauner,
8 Director of Public Affairs, Blue Diamond Growers.
9 Whoops.

10 MR. HERON: I am not Susan. My name is
11 Julian Heron. Ms. Brauner was detained on the west
12 coast working on some of the continuing impacts of the
13 west coast dock strike which still hampers U.S.
14 exports and almond exports and so, with the Chair
15 Lady's permission, I will present her testimony and
16 the testimony of Blue Diamond.

17 The testimony hopefully you have before
18 you and it was organized actually so that it would
19 become hopefully a reference work during the course of
20 the WTO negotiations which we support as we do all of
21 the free trade negotiations that are either under way
22 or proposed or being considered such as the Central

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1 American free trade area, Chile, Singapore, Israel,
2 Morocco, Australia and, of course, the FTAA which we
3 refer to as the Free Trade Agreement for Almonds.

4 The WTO proposal for reducing tariff
5 barriers we support completely, believe that it's
6 quite well thought out and ambitious and actually
7 encourage this committee and our negotiators to go
8 further and, in the case of almonds, obtain a zero
9 duty in every country world-wide so that almonds can
10 flow freely to any of the countries. We currently
11 export to over 100 countries and eventually hope to
12 get that to all countries.

13 Blue Diamond is a farmer-owned, nonprofit
14 marketing cooperative that markets almonds for the
15 majority of the industry and exports the almonds to
16 markets that it has developed over the years. So this
17 negotiation is particularly important because our
18 business depends on exports and we encourage you to
19 work on it as hard as you can and obtain as much as
20 possible for almonds and all American exports.

21 You'll see that our presentation is
22 organized first setting forth our objective which is

1 zero for zero world-wide and then with each country
2 we've categorized the country's importance as highest,
3 high or important and we hope that that might be
4 helpful to our negotiators and also indicated how much
5 we would anticipate exports to increase if we're able
6 to obtain zero duty in that country. Obviously, that
7 calls for some speculation but based on our
8 experience, we think that the numbers are realistic
9 and obtainable and so this will give you a benchmark
10 for the hard work that you're putting into the
11 negotiations and the benefits for the U.S. economy and
12 the almond industry in particular.

13 With that, I'll be happy to answer any
14 questions that anyone has.

15 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you very
16 much. The first question is from the Department of
17 Labor.

18 MS. VALDES: Good morning.

19 MR. HERON: Morning.

20 MS. VALDES: Has your organization
21 discussed your views of complete tariff elimination
22 with any other organization abroad?

1 MR. HERON: Yes. We've been working and
2 have underway an effort in all of our major markets
3 working with the importers and their trade
4 associations to encourage their governments to support
5 the concept of zero. Even the countries that produce
6 almonds -- there aren't very many but they're all
7 importers so there's no country in the world that can
8 say with a straight face -- I can't say they won't say
9 it to you but they can't say it with a straight face--
10 that they have domestic production to protect.

11 Spain, the second largest producer in the
12 world, now ranks as our second largest export market
13 because they found it's much more profitable to import
14 California almonds, put a Spanish label on them and
15 sell them as Spanish rather than go to the trouble of
16 growing them in Spain and their production has been
17 declining steadily. So we are doing that.

18 Next week at the International Nut
19 Conference which moves around the world but its
20 location next week is in Paris, we hope to have a
21 resolution adopted supporting the zero concept for
22 almonds and perhaps other nuts.

1 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The second question
2 by USDA.

3 MS. HENKE: Thank you, Mr. Heron. Your
4 handout is very comprehensive and we appreciate the
5 work that went into it. We notice that you have
6 talked about a zero for zero in the multi-lateral and
7 then when you go to the discreet countries, you have
8 fairly discreet decisions. Have you analyzed the
9 other approaches, other formulaic approaches, that
10 might be undertaken in the multi-lateral context that
11 would best benefit your industry? We've proposed the
12 Swiss 25 in the U.S. proposal. Have you analyzed the
13 Swiss 25 or something like that for your industry?

14 MR. HERON: Actually, we haven't and the
15 reason for not having done that, as we thought about
16 it, we had such great confidence in the ability of the
17 United States to achieve zero, it seemed best just to
18 calculate that.

19 MS. HENKE: I have nothing else to say to
20 that.

21 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
22 is by the USITC.

1 MR. COLEMAN: Your testimony this morning
2 has focused very much on market access issues, but are
3 there any other issues that Blue Diamond Growers would
4 like to bring to the attention of this committee other
5 than market access issues?

6 MR. HERON: In the submission, we did
7 refer to a few items, but our primary focus is market
8 access. We do have some phytosanitary problems.
9 Brazil's new regulation that calls for all sorts of
10 phytosanitary documentation that simply doesn't exist
11 and can't be provided is troublesome. They use GMO
12 regulations which impacts us because we often roast
13 our almonds in soy bean oil and so that gets us into
14 the GMO. Those kinds of things, but for whatever
15 little bit of time is allocated to almonds, please use
16 it for reducing duties.

17 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The last question
18 is USDA's.

19 MS. HENKE: Mr. Heron, thank you. You've
20 already answered the question we were asking about the
21 reason for your concern on GMOs. You discussed the
22 soy bean oil. Do you have any more you'd like to say

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1 about that? Any suggestions or solutions to that
2 problem?

3 MR. HERON: Well, perhaps the EU will come
4 into the modern world some day.

5 MS. HENKE: Thank you.

6 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you, Mr.
7 Heron.

8 MR. HERON: Thank you very much.

9 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Now I think we have
10 a break because we have lost one of our witnesses and
11 the next witness is not expected to testify until
12 11:45. Are you here? Oh, good. Mr. John Frydenlund,
13 Director of the Center for International Food and
14 Agricultural Policy. Thank you.

15 MR. FRYDENLUND: Thank you. On behalf of
16 Citizens Against Government Waste, these comments are
17 submitted to convey our assessment of the economic
18 effects of eliminating and reducing the U.S. tariffs
19 on certain agricultural products from WTO members.
20 CHW is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization which
21 grew out of President Reagan's private sector survey
22 on cost control, better known as the Grace Commission.

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1 The organization's mission is to work for the
2 elimination of waste, mismanagement and inefficiency
3 in the federal government with a goal of creating a
4 government that manages its programs with the same eye
5 to innovation, productivity and economy that is
6 dictated by the private sector.

7 The Center for International Food and
8 Agriculture Policy institutionalized CHW's long-
9 standing goal of dismantling depression era
10 agriculture price supports and regulations. CHW
11 believes that significant tariff reform on peanut
12 products and sugar will result in positive economic
13 benefits for U.S. consumers and other users of such
14 products. U.S. maintenance of substantial barriers to
15 food and agricultural trade will undermine its ability
16 to obtain additional market access to the markets of
17 our WTO trading partners.

18 The United States can only take advantage
19 of tremendous opportunities to expand its agriculture
20 exports if it pursues a progressive trade policy on
21 all agricultural commodities. The United States must
22 maintain a coherent trade policy position throughout

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1 the WTO talks that will benefit the entire U.S. food
2 and agriculture sector. The November 2001 Doha
3 mandate moved countries toward creating a level
4 playing field internationally where farmers,
5 processors and manufacturers can compete and prosper
6 on the basis of a comparative advantage unhindered by
7 market access barriers.

8 Restrictive tariff rate quotas on peanut
9 products are in direct conflict with the goal of
10 obtaining greater market access for other U.S.-grown
11 agricultural products. With exports of U.S.
12 agricultural commodities totaling more than \$50
13 billion annually and many more billions of dollars of
14 export potential, the value of other U.S. agriculture
15 commodities is unquestionably greater than any need to
16 maintain the existing protections that were designed
17 to protect peanut quota holders.

18 The top 20 categories of U.S. agriculture
19 commodities have a value of nearly \$193 billion
20 compared to peanut production which was valued at \$992
21 million in 1999. The future of U.S. agriculture lies
22 in exporting commodities where we have this

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1 comparative advantage. Maintenance and trade barriers
2 is contrary to the interest of beef, corn, soy beans,
3 pork, wheat and other commodity producers who need to
4 take advantage of expanded export markets.

5 CHW supports the U.S. proposal on sugar
6 which includes a reduction in tariffs over five years
7 to no more than 25 percent, the 20 percent increase in
8 tariff rate quotas for the quantities over five years
9 and agreement on a date for complete elimination of
10 tariffs and quotas.

11 From CHW's perspective, multi-lateral
12 trade liberalization will have a multitude of positive
13 effects. The lower consumer food costs will benefit
14 low income Americans relatively the most since they
15 spend a disproportionate share of their incomes on
16 food. The greater availability and affordability of
17 sugar would increase the profitability of sugar
18 containing products which would encourage new product
19 development and give consumers more choices. It would
20 also help to keep food manufacturing in this country
21 providing jobs for American workers.

22 In conclusion, the highly restrictive

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1 tariff rate quotas on peanuts, peanut products and
2 sugar can no longer be justified. United States has
3 too much at stake to jeopardize the opportunity to
4 obtain greater market access for other U.S.
5 agricultural products. For most of American farmers
6 to prosper in the future, it is absolutely essential
7 that the United States seek major improvements in
8 market access in the negotiations on agricultural
9 reforms under the WTO. We can not afford to let bad
10 trade policy on peanuts and sugar interfere with our
11 need to reduce barriers and level the playing field in
12 the \$600 billion global agricultural market.

13 If we are continue to be a strong player
14 in world markets and to maintain and expand U.S.
15 agricultural prosperity, we must push for further
16 reductions in trade impediments. Insisting that
17 peanuts and sugar receive special treatment in future
18 trade negotiations will certainly cause other
19 countries to insist on receiving similar special
20 treatment for their politically sensitive crops. Why
21 jeopardize U.S. efforts to get market access and other
22 trade concessions for all other American agriculture

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1 commodities for the sake of protecting a privileged
2 few?

3 We thank the TPSC for providing us with
4 this opportunity present our views on agricultural
5 import restrains on peanuts and sugar and how it
6 impacts the rest of American agriculture. We believe
7 that elimination of U.S. tariffs under the WTO on
8 peanuts, peanut products and sugar will provide
9 positive benefits for U.S. consumers who will be able
10 to purchase peanut and sugar products at competitive
11 prices. Thank you very much and I'll be willing to
12 answer any questions.

13 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you, Mr.
14 Frydenlund. I had a question which was as your group
15 was looking at these issues, I'm curious if there were
16 other products that were identified as causing waste
17 or were these the only two?

18 MR. FRYDENLUND: We have concentrated on
19 these commodities mainly because we've been very
20 involved for a number of years in seeking significant
21 reform of domestic peanut and sugar programs and have
22 come to the conclusion as things have developed that

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1 our peanut and sugar policies, including our
2 researching of imports, etcetera, has really stood in
3 the way of accomplishing significant global reform of
4 trade.

5 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you.

6 MR. FRYDENLUND: I believe there probably
7 are other problems and other commodities that we can
8 highlight, too.

9 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you. The
10 next question will be posed by USTR.

11 MR. HAFEMEISTER: We would like to know if
12 you have conduct ed any economic analysis or are aware
13 of any economic analysis which could quantify the
14 benefits to consumers and the economy as a whole of
15 liberalizing trade in the products you highlighted.

16 MR. FRYDENLUND: Although we have not
17 conducted our own economic analysis, there have been
18 a number of them conducted over the years that have
19 talked about the impact to consumers. In fact, I
20 believe there have been specific analysis done on the
21 impact on consumers on trade restrictions on sugar.
22 Some of these economic studies -- and I apologize, I

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1 can get a more specific answer to you later -- but I
2 believe GAO has conducted a couple of them over the
3 years and I think those are the main ones that have
4 come to conclusions that frankly there have been a
5 quite a variance in estimate of what the impact is on
6 consumers ranging from \$500 million upwards of \$2
7 billion a year.

8 So it's hard to like pinpoint which is the
9 exact answer but there have been over the last, I
10 would say, six, seven years, there have been three or
11 four studies that I can probably locate for you.

12 MR. HAFEMEISTER: Some of the subsequent
13 panelists may refer to them. I think they've
14 submitted some information on that. But if there is
15 information you'd like to provide the panel, we'd be
16 glad to have it.

17 MR. FRYDENLUND: Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The easiest way is
19 to provide it electronically to Gloria Blue at
20 gblue@ustr.gov.

21 MR. FRYDENLUND: I have that information.

22 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you. USDA

1 has the next question.

2 MS. HENKE: Thank you. Thank you, Mr.
3 Frydenlund. Has your organization received input from
4 peanut growers and, if so, could you tell us what
5 their views are with respect to your ideas?

6 MR. FRYDENLUND: No. We have not received
7 any input from peanut growers and actually have not
8 discussed our views with them. They probably don't
9 agree with us.

10 MS. HENKE: Okay. In your testimony you
11 say you support the tariff reduction mechanisms that
12 the United States has suggested. Peanuts would be
13 subjected to the same reduction commitment and yet you
14 seem to want a complete overhaul. We'd like to ask
15 you to explain your focus on the peanut program,
16 particularly since in the new Farm Bill the domestic
17 support for peanuts has been changed to become much
18 more similar to the grains, oil seeds and cotton
19 programs.

20 MR. FRYDENLUND: We believe that overall,
21 even if the Doha round does not accomplish this
22 completely, we believe that overall the goal should be

1 to totally level the playing field. That's why we
2 believe that all negotiations should be totally
3 comprehensive and everything should be on the table
4 and ultimately the goal of our organization would be
5 to see it complete and to tariffs trade restrictions
6 world-wide. That would include developed countries,
7 developing countries.

8 We believe that people throughout in the
9 world in every country will ultimately benefit most
10 from having agricultural products produced where there
11 is a comparative advantage and, even though that does
12 mean in many cases throughout the world temporary
13 dislocation or disadvantage to particular sectors in
14 particular countries where they do not have a
15 comparative advantage, in the long run, if different
16 crops and products are being produced where there is
17 comparative advantage, the whole world will benefit.
18 So ultimately our goal is to complete elimination of
19 tariff barriers and trade restrictions.

20 MS. HENKE: On agricultural products at
21 large but starting with peanuts as egregious elements.

22 MR. FRYDENLUND: Right. Peanuts and sugar

1 we believe are both --

2 MS. HENKE: But your goal is on all
3 products?

4 MR. FRYDENLUND: Yes. I mean I think this
5 is not necessarily the focus of your hearing today but
6 I mean we would say that it applies to other products,
7 whether it's textiles, steel.

8 MS. HENKE: So more than agricultural
9 products.

10 MR. FRYDENLUND: Yes.

11 MS. HENKE: Thank you.

12 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
13 from the Department off Labor.

14 MS. VALDES: Good morning. In a couple of
15 places in your testimony, you mention the possible
16 expansion of -- throughout the peanut sector which has
17 spanned peanuts production and that the elimination of
18 U.S. tariff on peanuts products and sugar would likely
19 have little or no adverse effects in the U.S.
20 industry. Can you tell us how or provide data later
21 on what the current employment in the peanuts industry
22 is and how has it changed in the last 10 years.

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1 MR. FRYDENLUND: I probably will have to
2 provide that for you later. I think there has been a
3 reduction in jobs and the peanut processing industry,
4 particularly as it relates to the candy manufacturing
5 industry.

6 MS. VALDES: Do you have any estimate of
7 U.S. job expansion based on your objective in the WTO
8 to open U.S. trade on imports and exports on peanuts?

9 MR. FRYDENLUND: I may be able to provide
10 that for you. I will try. I think it would possibly
11 be more in the way of a reverse explanation of what,
12 relating to your first question looking at the job
13 losses that occurred and hopefully what we'd be
14 talking about is maybe a restoration of jobs.

15 MS. VALDES: We will appreciate it. Thank
16 you.

17 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: I think that
18 concludes our questions. Thank you very much.

19 MR. FRYDENLUND: Thank you very much. One
20 last question. All of these questions for the
21 information request should be sent to Gloria Blue. Is
22 that correct?

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1 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Right.

2 MR. FRYDENLUND: Thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you.

4 Our next witness is Robin Lanier,
5 Executive Director of Consumers for World Trade.

6 MS. LANIER: I feel like I was just here.

7 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: You were.

8 MS. LANIER: Good morning, everybody.
9 Thanks again for this opportunity to appear before you
10 on market access issues. Earlier this week, CWT
11 presented testimony on industrial products,
12 principally clothing and footwear. Today I will talk
13 briefly about food.

14 Once again, our main objective in
15 appearing before you today is to point out that the
16 United States maintains exceptionally high tariffs on
17 the necessities of life, namely food and clothing. We
18 urge you to remain cognizant that millions of American
19 consumers pay the price for protective tariffs and
20 that improving the standard of living for working
21 American families should be an important goal of U.S.
22 trade policy in addition to the opening up of markets

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1 for competitive export industries.

2 The United States is a major producer of
3 most agricultural commodities and processed food
4 products as well as a major consumer of these goods.
5 As a result of the Uruguay Round, import quotas no
6 longer exist on agricultural products and, while
7 tariff rate quotas now provide more transparency for
8 consumers, they also represent substantial border
9 protection for many of these same goods through
10 restrictive lower tier quota levels and high upper
11 tier over quota tariffs. In addition, many
12 agricultural tariffs, particularly in those sectors
13 where significant border protections are imposed, are
14 difficult to understand and measure because they are
15 not assessed on an ad valorem basis.

16 While the average agricultural tariff in
17 the United States is about 12 percent, this average
18 masks some extremely high and very nontransparent
19 tariffs which are nothing more than taxes paid by
20 Americans. For example, according to the USDA's
21 Economic Research Service, the following six groupings
22 of food commodities have U.S. tariffs at or above the

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1 U.S. average. Fresh meat 12 percent, oil seed 17
2 percent, nuts 17 percent, coco beans and products 18
3 percent, dairy products 43 percent, and sweeteners 46
4 percent. Even these figures, however, are averages
5 and therefore somewhat misleading. An examination of
6 the individual tariff lines reveals higher tariff
7 rates often exceeding 100 percent called mega tariffs.

8 Mega tariffs are most prominent in the
9 U.S. tariff schedules for dairy, sweeteners and nuts,
10 all food commodities subject to tariff rate quotas.
11 According to USDA, about 24 tariff lines in the
12 agricultural chapters of the U.S. tariff schedules--
13 this would be excluding tobacco -- identify over quota
14 tariff rates in excess of 100 percent. The U.S. over
15 quota tariff rate on sweeteners exceeds 200 percent
16 and on peanut butter is 132 percent. Seven different
17 dairy products have over quota tariffs exceeding 100
18 percent.

19 Some of these food products are direct
20 consumer goods and some are ingredients used to make
21 other food products. Either way, such extraordinary
22 tariff rates impose substantial costs on American

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1 consumers. These mega tariffs and other above average
2 tariff rates must be a high priority for immediate
3 substantial reduction in this round of trade
4 negotiations. In addition, CWT supports the
5 conversion of all specific rate tariffs to ad valorem
6 tariffs thereby making them more transparent.

7 CWT fully recognizes that many of the food
8 products with high tariff rates in the U.S. are
9 similarly protected in other major agricultural
10 producing nations. The Doha negotiations therefore
11 provide an ideal opportunity to dismantle these tariff
12 walls on a global basis benefitting consumers
13 everywhere. We recognize that it will take time to
14 phase out these tariffs but strongly support the
15 setting of a specific date by which these tariffs will
16 be fully eliminated.

17 Finally, tariff rate quotas on products
18 like sugar, peanuts and dairy are hugely distorting to
19 the U.S. economy. Not only would end consumers
20 benefit by a reduction or elimination of border taxes
21 on these products, the elimination or steep reduction
22 of these tariffs would assist intermediary consumers

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1 or down stream producers to remain competitive. The
2 sad fact is the tariff rate quotas on products like
3 sugar pit American farmers against American food
4 processors. Indeed, the continued high cost of sugar
5 in the United States has been a factor in the
6 relocation of food processors offshore. That
7 relocation not only costs American jobs, but it
8 impacts American consumers depriving them of
9 competitive U.S.-made products.

10 In closing, CWT strongly believes that one
11 goal of the Doha round ought to be raising living
12 standards here at home through tariff reductions.
13 Because tariffs are taxes that affect millions of
14 Americans, this ought to be a priority at least as
15 important as creating new export opportunities and
16 easily much more important than maintaining long-
17 standing protection that ultimately may cost more jobs
18 than it protects.

19 In the case of agriculture, global reform
20 also has the added benefit of raising living standards
21 world-wide at the same time as it would create new
22 export opportunities for competitive American farmers

1 and help to keep competitive U.S. food processors from
2 relocating offshore. Thank you very much.

3 MR. HAFEMEISTER: Thank you for those
4 remarks. Let me ask you the first question which is
5 we heard your support for the idea of setting a
6 specific date for eliminating all tariffs in
7 agriculture. We wonder if you have any assessment or
8 view on this U.S. proposal for an intermediate step
9 which is to use the so-called Swiss formula with a 25
10 coefficient.

11 MS. LANIER: We do not have a specific
12 view on the Swiss formula, but we do recognize that
13 phasing out agriculture tariffs is going to be a long-
14 term process. As much as we would like to eliminate
15 these tariffs tomorrow, I think the political reality
16 is that this is something that we have to work on over
17 time. But we do support the idea of setting a date
18 certain by which we will try to get rid of these
19 tariffs because we think having that date is something
20 to work for and it can be a date that's well in the
21 future. I think that would be all right as far as we
22 are concerned.

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1 We have no particular view with respect to
2 how you should go about doing that, whether it's a
3 formulaic approach or how deep the cut should be or
4 request offer. Whatever the modality is that appears
5 to work best we would, I think, support just so long
6 as we're making progress towards a goal.

7 MR. HAFEMEISTER: Our next question I'll
8 also ask is you focused your remarks on market access
9 issues. The WTO agriculture issues also cover subsidy
10 policies, domestic and export, and we wonder if you
11 have any comments on those issues.

12 MS. LANIER: CWT generally supports the
13 discipline of non-tariff barriers and subsidies but
14 our view here, much like one of the previous witnesses
15 this morning, is that the tariff policy from a
16 standpoint of consumers is the most important name in
17 the game. So from our perspective when looking at
18 agricultural policy, getting rid of the high tariffs
19 has the first and most immediate effect on consumers.
20 Disciplining subsidies has some effect on consumers
21 but if you are to only discipline subsidies and not
22 have any progress made on tariffs, consumers could

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1 conceivably reap very little benefit.

2 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
3 is by USDA, please.

4 MS. HENKE: Thank you. We'd like to ask
5 your opinion on how you think the U.S. government
6 could balance the needs of consumers for low prices
7 with the needs of farmers to sustain viable productive
8 activities in the United States.

9 MS. LANIER: Well, obviously I represent
10 consumers so my response is going to be somewhat
11 biased. From our perspective, you have more than just
12 consumers and farmers in this mix. As I pointed out
13 in my testimony, you have consumers, you have food
14 processors who are what I would call intermediary
15 consumers or downstream consumers, and you have
16 farmers and it seems to me that our policy right now
17 seems to take the view that the most important of
18 those three entities is the farmer. We have proposals
19 in place that impose enormous costs on consumers, end
20 consumers, and enormous costs on food processors. I
21 don't speak for food processors but there have been
22 some well-documented cases -- the Life Saver case, for

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1 example -- where the cost of sugar was a contributing
2 factor to their relocating offshore.

3 How the government balances that is a
4 very tricky thing and I'm not sure that I have any
5 great advice for all of you, but I do know that right
6 now the scales are quite tipped. It's not a level
7 playing field for what I would say the three American
8 interests that have concerns here. The scales are
9 tipped in the favor of the producer at the huge
10 expense of the many millions of other consumers, both
11 industrial and end consumers.

12 MS. HENKE: Thank you.

13 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: I think that
14 completes our questions. Do you have a question? The
15 Department of Labor has a question.

16 MS. VALDES: You mentioned that it's going
17 to be very difficult for other countries to lower
18 their tariff because it's very sensitive. But you
19 said also that you agreed to a period. Are you
20 talking about some phase out period similar to
21 textile???

22 MS. LANIER: I would imagine, this being

1 as difficult as the textile issue which I have spent
2 many years laboring in, that achieving overnight
3 success and elimination of tariffs is not a real
4 possibility here and so I think we would be looking at
5 a long-term phase out but a date certain, much as we
6 did with textile quotas where we had a 10 year process
7 under the agreement on textile and clothing to phase
8 out quotas. So very long period of time but I'm
9 surprised how quickly 10 years actually passed because
10 we're right on the cusp of getting rid of those quotas
11 and now focusing on the tariff issues in textile.

12 So agriculture policy is equally
13 intractable but much good can be done by setting a
14 date certain and I understand the United States is
15 looking at that and I think that's a good thing, even
16 if that date is well in the future.

17 MS. VALDES: Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: We asked the
19 question of the Department of State because we're
20 running ahead. Thank you so very much, Ms. Lanier.

21 MS. LANIER: You're welcome.

22 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Now I think we may

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1 be missing our next witness because we're so far
2 ahead. Is Mr. Jaeger here by chance? No. Then I
3 think what we need to do is declare a small break
4 until noon when Mr. Jaeger is expected to be here to
5 testify. So we'll reconvene at noon in the same room.
6 Thank you.

7 (Off the record for a 20 minute recess at
8 11:40 a.m.)

9 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: This hearing is
10 reconvened. We will now hear testimony from Arthur
11 Jaeger, Associate Director of the Consumer Federation
12 of America. Thank you, Mr. Jaeger. We are a little
13 ahead of ourselves so we had to have a small break.
14 I hope we didn't keep you waiting very long.

15 MR. JAEGER: I just got here. Things seem
16 to be working out fine.

17 I'm pleased to be here today on behalf of
18 Consumer Federation of America. CFA is an association
19 of approximately 300 pro-consumer groups formed in
20 1968 to advance the consumer interest through advocacy
21 and education. I'm here once again to mention the
22 trade restrictions erected under the federal sugar and

1 peanut programs. CFA has long opposed both programs
2 because in our view they cause consumers to pay more
3 than they should for food.

4 We were pleased to see a more market-
5 oriented program for peanuts enacted earlier this
6 year. Congress replaced strict production controls
7 with a cash payment program that will allow U.S.
8 producers to sell peanuts for domestic markets at
9 approximately \$355 per ton. This is a substantial
10 improvement over the previous \$610 per ton. It should
11 reduce import costs for food processors and put
12 downward pressure on retail prices for peanuts and
13 peanut butter. Unfortunately, the peanut program's
14 tariff rate quota will continue to restrict imports of
15 lower priced peanuts from other countries. As a
16 result, despite the domestic reforms, consumers will
17 still pay more than they should for peanut products.

18 Likewise, the sugar program continues to
19 rely on a system of import restrictions and price
20 supports that keeps prices paid to U.S. producers well
21 above what they would otherwise receive. That means
22 consumers will continue to pay a hidden subsidy every

1 time they buy food products containing sugar at the
2 grocery store.

3 Two years ago, the General Accounting
4 Office concluded that eliminating the sugar program
5 could save U.S. consumers as much as \$800 million
6 annually on the price of table sugar alone. That
7 equates to a savings of up to 50 cents on a five pound
8 bag of sugar. Likewise, in the early '90s GAO
9 concluded that the peanut program inflated retail
10 prices for peanut products by perhaps as much as \$500
11 million a year. That translated to approximately 30
12 cents on the price of an 18 ounce jar of peanut
13 butter. Eliminating the domestic peanut quota should
14 bring that cost down substantially but consumer harm
15 will remain as long as the current tariff rate quotas
16 restrict imports.

17 The over quota tariff for sugar is
18 approximately 16 cents per pound compared with a world
19 price of approximately eight cents. For peanuts, the
20 over quota tariff is about 130 percent or 165 percent
21 depending on whether the peanuts are shelled. Such
22 tariffs very likely would provoke U.S. complaints if

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1 they were maintained by other countries and, of
2 course, they are problematic when the United States
3 pushes other countries to lessen trade barriers. If
4 it is not possible to eliminate these tariffs,
5 consideration should be given to either a substantial
6 reduction in tariff rates, an increase in below quota
7 imports or both.

8 For consumers, the results of these
9 actions would be downward pressure on retail prices
10 for sugar and peanut containing products. Prices may
11 decline or, more likely, they would increase more
12 slowly in future years. Either way, consumers would
13 benefit.

14 Reductions in sugar and peanut tariffs
15 would also have implications for producers. In 1995,
16 for example, the Food and Agriculture Policy Research
17 Institute concluded that removing sugar import quotas
18 would reduce domestic sugar production by as much as
19 11 percent after five years. CFA is concerned about
20 the continuing decline in the number of family farms
21 in this country. These farms add much to the economic
22 and social fabric of the nation and we feel those that

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1 remain should be preserved.

2 For this reason, in lieu of the sugar
3 program, CFA has suggested a cash assistance program
4 targeted only to those small producers needing help to
5 survive. This would be more efficient than the
6 current program since it would concentrate assistance
7 where it's needed most rather than on the general
8 population of producers. Import restrictions under
9 the sugar and peanut programs have been picking the
10 pockets of U.S. consumers for many years and they
11 conflict with U.S. goals in international trade talks.
12 Reducing these trade barriers, in our view, would be
13 a clear step in the right direction.

14 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you, Mr.
15 Jaeger. If I could ask the two new panelists to
16 identify themselves for the transcription, that would
17 be a great help.

18 MR. WIECKING: My name is John Wiecking.
19 I'm with the Department of State and the Office of
20 Agricultural Trade.

21 MR. WHITLEY: My name is Daniel Whitley
22 and I'm with the Department of Agriculture's Foreign

1 Ag Service, the Multilateral and Trade Negotiations
2 Division.

3 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you very
4 much.

5 So the first question is from the USITC.

6 MR. COLEMAN: Good morning, Mr. Jaeger.
7 Do you think that the U.S. proposal which includes a
8 Swiss 25 formula adequately addresses your concern
9 over sugar and peanuts?

10 MR. JAEGER: The U.S. proposal, as I
11 understand it, is a good start. I think in the long
12 run we need to go farther but it starts us down the
13 road towards eliminating these tariffs.

14 MR. COLEMAN: Thank you.

15 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: And then USDA,
16 please.

17 MR. WHITLEY: Good morning, Mr. Jaeger,
18 and thank you for your testimony. In your testimony
19 you mentioned about a cash assistance program that
20 would work more efficiently than the current program
21 that's in place. Could you elaborate on that a little
22 bit and tell us how it would work in your views.

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1 MR. JAEGER: Part of our thinking on this
2 stems from an analysis that ERS actually did where
3 they looked at rolling the USDA agricultural support
4 programs into programs more like the assistance
5 programs for low income people. Basically, instead of
6 awarding benefits based on the pounds or tons of sugar
7 or peanuts that you produce or wheat or corn or rice,
8 you look at income and you award benefits. You
9 increase the benefits or award benefits only to those
10 farmers who are struggling with income. The
11 assumption is this would be the smaller farmers.
12 They're the ones that seem to have more trouble.

13 When USDA looked at this, and I'd be happy
14 to provide a copy of their analysis, they looked at
15 farm programs in general and they pointed out that the
16 total cost of the farm programs would not be reduced
17 but the distribution of where the money went would
18 change radically. Instead of most of it going to the
19 largest presumably better off farmers, it went to the
20 smaller struggling farmers. These are the ones who
21 are falling out of the system. As we understand it,
22 these are the ones who most need the help. This

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1 would, in our view, be much more efficient and make
2 much more sense.

3 The current system, in our view, is akin
4 to -- if you look at food stamps -- if you adopted the
5 farm program approach to food stamps, the more money
6 you made, the more food stamps you would get. That,
7 to us, doesn't make any sense. We'd suggest adopting
8 the food stamp approach for farm programs. It would
9 have one other advantage. When these subsidies are
10 paid through the market place, when you prop up the
11 price to farmers and that increased income to farmers
12 is passed on through the system to consumers, that's
13 a regressive tax because lower income people pay a
14 higher percentage of their income for food.

15 So through the current system, not only,
16 in our view, rewards the wrong producers or tends to
17 reward the wrong producers, it also puts a greater
18 burden of pain for those benefits on the wrong
19 consumers, the low income consumers who can least
20 afford to pay it. If you switched this over and made
21 it a cash benefit program, the financing of the
22 program would then be progressive and those who could

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1 afford to pay a little bit more to support those
2 farmers would pay a little bit more and those who
3 could least afford to pay those benefits would pay
4 less.

5 The peanut program, of course, switched
6 over this year to more of a cash benefit program but
7 that program is not targeted, as I understand it at
8 this point, towards the smaller producers. That's
9 what we'd like to see in a refashioned peanut or sugar
10 program.

11 MR. WHITLEY: Thank you very much.

12 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: The next question
13 by the Department of State.

14 MR. WIECKING: Mr. Jaeger, good morning.
15 Your concentration on consumer welfare I think is one
16 that will be applauded by the consensus of trade
17 economists and one that we at the State Department of
18 course approve of as well. I think everybody else in
19 this room does. But as you know, trade negotiations
20 work on a basis of trading concessions and I wondered
21 if your organization had given any thought to which
22 markets in particular you would like opened up in

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1 exchange for the concession of cutting back on tariffs
2 and on domestic support on peanuts and sugar.

3 MR. JAEGER: Well, I haven't given a lot
4 of thought to that but clearly I think one of the U.S.
5 goals is to increase exports of other U.S. farm
6 commodities. That's what I would suggest. Put that
7 at the top of the list.

8 MR. WIECKING: Keep it within the
9 agriculture area as would normally be done.

10 MR. JAEGER: Exactly.

11 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: We had one last
12 question which was the fact that your testimony had
13 focused on peanuts and sugar. Do you have views on
14 other products that affect consumers?

15 MR. JAEGER: Well, we do but I chose to
16 testify and I focus on agriculture and peanuts and
17 sugar. The individual at our organization who focuses
18 on other commodities beyond agriculture did not choose
19 to testify today or in this round of hearings.

20 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: USITC.

21 MR. COLEMAN: Just one quick question.
22 Earlier this morning the American Sugar Alliance

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1 provided testimony and in their testimony they said
2 the following. American consumers would not benefit
3 from the catastrophic drop in producer prices.
4 History has shown that food manufacturers and
5 retailers do not pass savings from lower producer
6 prices for sugar along to consumers. In other words,
7 they're saying with the reduction of prices, the
8 benefit is captured by the manufacturing sector and
9 not passed on to the consumers. What comments would
10 you have in regard to that statement?

11 MR. JAEGER: I actually early this year,
12 in response to those arguments from the American Sugar
13 Alliance, I spent a lot of time looking at that issue
14 and at first blush when you look at the charts that
15 Jack presents, it certainly looks like he's correct.
16 I was prepared to conclude he was correct. The longer
17 I looked into it, the more convinced I became that the
18 so-called pass through is there and reforming the
19 sugar program would benefit consumers. Now, it's not
20 100 percent in either direction.

21 From the research that I did, when the raw
22 price of sugar or the producer price goes up, the

1 retail price doesn't go up exactly in lock step. When
2 the raw price or the producer price comes down, the
3 retail price doesn't come down exactly in lock step.
4 There are lots of factors that affect that retail
5 price. But one of the major ones for a retail product
6 like a five pound bag of sugar, one of the major
7 factors in that price is the producer price of sugar
8 and, in general, over time, assuming a competitive
9 market, I'm convinced that increases and decreases in
10 that producer price of sugar will be reflected in the
11 retail price.

12 There was, of course, a couple of years
13 ago a significant drop in the producer price of sugar,
14 both cane and beet, and there was very little movement
15 in the retail price. Jack tends to throw that in my
16 face at every opportunity. That shouldn't have
17 happened. There should have been some movement there.
18 I think the factor that affected that is increased
19 concentration at both the retail and the food
20 processing level. When too few players are involved,
21 obviously you end up with an anti-competitive market
22 and you will not see as much of that pass-through

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1 effect as you would see in a competitive market.

2 To our view, the solution there is not to
3 continue the sugar program but to foster a competitive
4 market by scrutinizing mergers and that sort of thing.
5 Again, even in that period that Jack cites where the
6 producer price plummets and the retail price stays
7 steady, and he tends to look at not refined sugar at
8 the retail level but he likes to look at candy and
9 gum, I looked at candy and gum and I did not find a
10 decrease in the retail price but I found a significant
11 slowing of the increase in the price of gum. So even
12 in that period that Jack likes to cite, I saw downward
13 pressure on the price of candy and gum as a result of
14 that drop in the -- or in that period when the
15 producer price plummeted.

16 I presented my analysis of this at the Ag
17 Outlook Conference in January or February of this year
18 and I'd be happy to provide a copy of that analysis to
19 you all. It explains more logically what I just went
20 over.

21 MR. COLEMAN: Thank you.

22 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Could you send that

1 to Gloria Blue, gblue@ustr.gov.

2 MR. JAEGER: Absolutely.

3 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Electronically.

4 MR. JAEGER: In fact, I've got it with me
5 today and I'll just leave it here.

6 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Great. If you can
7 also forward it electronically, it's easier to
8 distribute.

9 MR. JAEGER: Great.

10 CHAIRMAN SURO-BREDIE: Thank you.

11 Do we have more questions? If not, thank
12 you very much.

13 This hearing is adjourned and we will
14 reconvene at 2:00. Don Eiss will chair.

15 (Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned at
16 12:15 p.m. to reconvene at 2:00 p.m.)

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1 A-F-T-E-R-N-O-O-N S-E-S-S-I-O-N

2 2:00 p.m.

3 CHAIRMAN EISS: I'd like to welcome you
4 all to the USTR refrigerator for the afternoon. The
5 hearing will come to order. My name is Don Eiss and
6 I welcome you all to this hearing. I will be chairing
7 the afternoon part of today's hearing and I would like
8 to welcome both our witnesses and the members of the
9 panel. For the benefit of those who were not present
10 this morning, very briefly I'd just like to review and
11 remind all of us that this hearing is being conducted
12 by the Trade Policy Staff Committee, an inter-agency
13 body chaired by the Office of the U.S. Trade
14 Representative.

15 The subject of this hearing is market
16 access and the DOHA development agenda negotiations in
17 the World Trade Organization, specifically for
18 agricultural products. The DOHA declaration outlines
19 three objectives of the agriculture negotiations.
20 Substantial improvements in market access, reduction
21 with a view to phasing out all forms of export
22 subsidies and substantial reductions in domestic

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1 support.

2 Market access issues, which are the
3 specific topic for today's testimony, for negotiation
4 include tariffs, tariff rate quotas, tariff
5 administration and import state trading enterprises.
6 We have had a number of witnesses appear this morning
7 and we have two witnesses on our schedule to appear
8 for this afternoon. Before letting the members of the
9 inter-agency panel introduce themselves, I would just
10 briefly review for the witnesses the procedures for
11 testifying.

12 As indicated in *The Federal Register*
13 notice regarding this hearing, we ask that you provide
14 an oral statement of approximately five minutes which
15 provides for about 10 minutes of questions from our
16 panelists so that we can proceed efficiently through
17 our afternoon witnesses. This is not a congressional
18 hearing and in that sense, there will not be red,
19 yellow and green lights and, as chair, I will exercise
20 a fair amount of flexibility to allow the witnesses to
21 make all their points and their statements but, if
22 necessary, I will gently remind you about the timing

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1 of your statement so that we can in fact keep fairly
2 close to the schedule we've set out for ourselves for
3 this afternoon.

4 Before calling our first witness to make
5 their statement, I would ask starting on my far left
6 for the members of the inter-agency panel to introduce
7 themselves and identify their agency affiliations.

8 MR. LINSKOTT: My name is Mark Linscott
9 and I am Deputy Assistant, USTR for Environment and
10 Natural Resources.

11 MR. WIECKING: I'm John Wiecking from the
12 State Department. I'm in the Office of Agricultural
13 Trade.

14 MR. HAFEMEISTER: My name is Jason
15 Hafemeister. I'm in the Agriculture Office at USTR.

16 MR. WHITLEY: Good afternoon. My name is
17 Daniel Whitley. I'm with the Department of
18 Agriculture, Foreign Ag Service, Multi-lateral Trade
19 Negotiations Division.

20 MR. COLEMAN: I'm Jonathan Coleman. I'm
21 with the U.S. International Trade Commission working
22 in the Agriculture and Forest Products Division.

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1 MS. VALDES: Good afternoon. My name is
2 Ana Valdes. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of
3 International Labor Affairs.

4 CHAIRMAN EISS: Thank you all very much
5 and so with that, I would call to the table Mr. Jaime
6 Castaneda, Vice President of the National Milk
7 Producers Federation to make his statement. Welcome
8 and we look forward to hearing your comments.

9 MR. CASTANEDA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman
10 and members of the committee. As you said, my name is
11 Jaime Castaneda. I'm the Vice President for Trade
12 Policy for the National Milk Producers Federation and
13 a senior trade policy advisor for the U.S. Dairy
14 Export Council. At my side is Peter Vitaliano who is
15 Vice President for Economics and Market Research at
16 the National Milk Producers Federation.

17 I appreciate the opportunity to present
18 the views of the National Milk Producers Federation
19 and the U.S. Dairy Export Council with respect to
20 market access and the DOHA development agenda
21 negotiations in the World Trade Organization. The
22 most significant issue related to market access for

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1 the U.S. dairy industry is that the majority of the
2 important dairy product markets around the world, not
3 only our own, but also those to which U.S. products
4 are exported are also subject to significant import
5 restrictions and market access barriers. Furthermore,
6 there are major disparities in the nature, extent and
7 height of these barriers among these countries.

8 It is critical that the U.S. negotiators
9 in the DOHA development agenda agriculture
10 negotiations recognize these disparities and secure an
11 agreement which fully addresses them. The United
12 States proposed and successfully propounded the
13 concept of tariffication in the Uruguay Round
14 agricultural negotiations. Eager to ensure its
15 effective implementation, the United States then
16 attempted to lead by example submitting a clean tariff
17 offer. However, other countries didn't. This
18 resulted in significant changes and disparities on
19 tariffs among not only OECD members in developed
20 countries but also developing countries.

21 Just to give you an example on dairy
22 average tariffs, we have about 55 percent and for some

1 this may be high but if you look at dairy trade and
2 dairy tariffs around the world, most of the OECD
3 average tariffs are well over 100 percent and, in some
4 cases, 300 percent. This is not only in developed
5 countries but also in developing nations.

6 This is why this information clearly
7 demonstrates why the National Milk Producers and the
8 U.S. Dairy Export Counsel supports the offer recently
9 tabled by the United States in the DOHA agriculture
10 negotiations calling for the harmonization of all
11 tariffs to a maximum of 25 percent. They also
12 demonstrate why conversely we would strongly oppose
13 that we do not address these changes, these
14 differences, because we believe that in all the
15 economic analysis that Mr. Vitaliano can expand on
16 demonstrate that it would be disastrous and it would
17 be extremely damaging to the U.S. dairy industry that
18 we maintain the differences that exist today on
19 tariffs.

20 The analysis that we did of course employs
21 a significant part of the negotiations, even though
22 they're not necessarily in the market access is the

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1 export subsidies, the elimination of export subsidies.
2 We strongly believe that the elimination of export
3 subsidies has to be part of any market access
4 negotiations. The fact that we eliminate export
5 subsidies will raise prices around the world. These
6 prices will get closer to U.S. prices. Therefore, by
7 eliminating or reducing substantially tariffs also all
8 over the world, it will increase demand and create new
9 demand and this will also raise prices. Therefore, we
10 believe that an agreement that secures this
11 harmonization of over quota tariffs and elimination of
12 export subsidies will allow a positive result for the
13 U.S. dairy industry.

14 However, again, if we don't eliminate
15 export subsidies and we go to a flat tariff reduction
16 as a percentage, we can have a significant harm to
17 the U.S. dairy industry. This is our main message.
18 There are numerous aspects of our request that we have
19 sent on previous *The Federal Registers* and we'll send
20 further information on the November request that
21 employs different concepts of our in quota, over quota
22 access and total access.

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1 Just to give you an example, the United
2 States -- and we will include this in our testimony--
3 we provide significantly more access, 15 percent, 37
4 percent, eight percent on different products like
5 cheese, powders, butter, more than any other country
6 that provides access with respect to the Uruguay Round
7 commitments which are where about five percent of
8 domestic consumption of the 1986-88. If you look at
9 different countries like Europe and Canada, they only
10 provide that five percent or even less than that. We
11 are way above that quantity. What we want is level
12 playing field. We all should be about the same and we
13 should all have reciprocal access. Thank you very
14 much.

15 CHAIRMAN EISS: Thank you, Mr. Castaneda.
16 Department of Agriculture.

17 MR. WHITLEY: Thank you. Thank you for
18 your testimony, Mr. Castaneda. We have two questions
19 for you and basically they center around sort of like
20 the results of the Uruguay Round agreement. With
21 respect to dairy exports, how have they fared from the
22 Uruguay Round? Have they increased, decreased or sort

1 of maintained where they were? The second part of the
2 question has to do with the balance of trade with
3 respect to dairy. How has that fared from Uruguay
4 Round? Has it increased, decreased or sort of
5 remained level?

6 MR. CASTANEDA: With respect to exports,
7 we have certainly increased exports. Although a small
8 amount compared to other countries, we have definitely
9 raised the level of exports. Perhaps a key point to
10 that -- and it's an excellent question -- is the fact
11 that we believe we can grow significantly more if
12 there would not be so many trade distorting mechanisms
13 out in the world markets right now, specifically
14 export subsidies.

15 I will let Peter Vitaliano talk about the
16 balance of trade.

17 MR. VITALIANO: The broad brush on the
18 export side, sort of the European Union prior to the
19 Uruguay Round had about 50 percent of the world dairy
20 market, most of it subsidies. It's been cut back now
21 to about 35 percent or so. So the subsidy reduction
22 disciplines definitely did affect the major subsidizer

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1 but the EU still has the lion's share of remaining
2 subsidy permissions, so to speak, and that's why it's
3 very important that those subsidies be further
4 addressed.

5 The big export gainers were the low cost
6 non-subsidizing exporters, particularly New Zealand
7 and Australia. In terms of the balance of trade sort
8 of antirational, the U.S. has allowed additional
9 imports. Did gain some additional exports but for
10 reasons having to do partly with policy and partly
11 with marketing, the additional imports were sort of
12 very market-sensitive products, particularly cheeses
13 and other milk powder type components.

14 Our chief exports -- I'm trying to think
15 how to say this exactly. We did gain some additional
16 market access but to a great extent I'm convinced that
17 a majority of our export gains in recent years, some
18 of them had to do with the world prices coming up but
19 a lot of them had to do with the fact that the U.S. is
20 a major supplier of whey products and certain types of
21 cheeses whose export growth might have occurred even
22 without the Uruguay Round. Certainly whey products

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1 and lactose are not really subject to significant
2 trade barriers. We did get some access to Japan and
3 Korea.

4 So we benefitted somewhat but the way I
5 look at it is that the Uruguay Round wasn't
6 significant enough that it basically benefitted the
7 very competitive exporters. The U.S. kind of sits
8 somewhere in the middle and that tide didn't really
9 rise up to our level. So that refers back to the
10 disparities that we were left with from the round. It
11 didn't really go far enough.

12 MR. WHITLEY: Thank you.

13 MR. COLEMAN: I have a couple of
14 questions. The first follows from the last. If the
15 U.S. tariff modalities that have been proposed are
16 actually put into place, how do you see that affecting
17 U.S. exports and the balance of dairy trade in future?

18 MR. CASTANEDA: Let me tell you from the
19 perspective of modalities, what we have always seen is
20 that, like Peter Vitaliano said, if you look at trade,
21 Australia and New Zealand basically were the only ones
22 who benefitted from the Uruguay Round, not Argentina,

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1 not everybody else. We haven't really created new
2 significant new demand in world dairy markets.
3 Basically, it was a transfer from European market
4 shares to basically New Zealand.

5 The new modalities. You have to think
6 about just what it would do to bring down tariff
7 levels. The Canadian case or the European case.
8 There are well over 100 percent, in some cases 300
9 percent. And in many other developing countries, too.
10 I think it would expand, not only again the new
11 markets but it would expand new demands. So I think
12 it would actually make a significant difference. And
13 then of course, U.S. exports will depend a lot on our
14 competitors and domestic policy, too.

15 MR. VITALIANO: Just to restate that.
16 We've gained some additional access in markets like
17 Canada and maybe in Japan. We'd have to share that
18 access in most countries with New Zealand and
19 Australia. But as Mr. Castaneda indicated, there are
20 limits. I've tried to quantify those recently. There
21 are limits to the growth that New Zealand and
22 Australia can achieve. Every limit tat's been

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1 proposed previously has been surpassed. I've made
2 what I thought is a realistic estimate of that. My
3 projection is that world demand for dairy will
4 outstrip the ability of those countries to supply it.
5 So the more access you can open in the highly tariff-
6 protected markets, even though individually they're
7 not very big like Canada, Japan. Japan is fairly open
8 on its products but butter and powder are still pretty
9 close. You would create enough new demand that it
10 would not be able to be satisfied with those who are
11 in a position to the immediate gainers. That would
12 relieve pressure on imports from our side, might even
13 open up some additional access in the European Union
14 although we've been waiting for that to happen a long
15 time. And so sort of diffusing the growth from the
16 obvious gainers and making some additional access
17 available to the U.S. dairy industry didn't really
18 happen in the Uruguay Round. I mean genuine access
19 from TRQ expansion and high tariff reduction. That
20 would probably give us sort of a weakly positive
21 result, as we've indicated, and we have a slightly
22 expanded statement that we can hand out today.

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1 MR. COLEMAN: When I look at Table 1 of
2 your testimony, you can see for the U.S. there are
3 some really pretty high tariffs there, 88 percent for
4 butter and close to 50 percent for the milk powders.
5 Under the Swiss formula 25, those tariffs will come
6 down to 25 which is a long way for them to fall. But
7 what I think you're saying is that in a completely
8 free market, international prices will rise to somehow
9 make U.S. product competitive or will be able to
10 sustain those 25 percent over quota rates. That
11 though is an empirical question. How much will world
12 price rise? How much the Southern cone countries can
13 respond. Do you have any empirical studies that you
14 can help us with this empirical question?

15 The other follow-up on that is given that
16 we have the support program and policies that have
17 been introduced under the latest farm bill, doesn't
18 that seriously impede the ability of the U.S. domestic
19 dairy industry to compete in international markets?

20 MR. VITALIANO: You have several questions
21 there. Let me go back to your observation on the
22 higher tariffs that we have on butter and skim milk

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1 powder. If you look across that table by countries,
2 you'll see that those tend to be the highest tariffs
3 amongst a lot of countries so that the 25 percent
4 tariff ceiling would affect a lot of people besides us
5 but yes, it would expose the U.S. to additional import
6 access. For technical reasons, I think the EU numbers
7 there are probably understated. But you and I
8 discussed this earlier about that's the way the
9 numbers work out when you use trade data which can be
10 sometimes strange.

11 In terms of your second question about --
12 can you repeat that second question.

13 MR. COLEMAN: First of all, do you have
14 any empirical studies that you can point to to show
15 how this all interacts?

16 MR. VITALIANO: The kinds of things that
17 are really specific to dairy, we've not seen very many
18 of them yet. Hopefully, the USDA ACRS will be able to
19 come up with some of them. I've done some initial
20 cuts myself. We've put some of the preliminary
21 results in our statement for today, written statement.
22 We need to refine those a lot more because, as you

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1 know, it gets very complex once you look at all these
2 things. What's the effect of subsidy elimination on
3 world dairy prices? What's the effect? It's easier
4 to quantify the effect of a minimum access expansion
5 than a tariff reduction. So we're in the process of
6 gearing up to be able to do those for our own
7 purposes.

8 MR. COLEMAN: But you basically think that
9 once the liberalization has taken place, the U.S. will
10 be able to be competitive in the world market.

11 MR. VITALIANO: Yes. Your final question
12 had to deal particularly with the continued existence
13 of the price support system. Would that affect our
14 competitiveness? Obviously that's going to be
15 affected by whatever might come out in the domestic
16 support negotiations which is subject for another
17 hearing, I gather. I have a feeling that that's not
18 going to be the primary constraint. There may need to
19 be some additional flexibility, but I think the bit
20 problem that would affect the U.S. would be continued
21 market access barriers and other higher cost countries
22 like Canada just to the north. That's a natural

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1 market for us. We probably have less access to Canada
2 than any other dairy market in the world, which
3 continues to confound me, and also the continued
4 elimination of subsidies I think would make a
5 substantial difference in world price.

6 Most of the empirical studies, there's a
7 good one from Tom Cox at the University of Wisconsin
8 that show that the U.S. is basically the natural price
9 level that world prices would come up to. There are
10 lower cost producers but they don't have much volume.
11 World prices could come up to our levels and we're so
12 big that in a theoretically free market we would
13 probably be able to serve all the residual demand from
14 our production. I've not seen a scenario where the
15 world prices in a free equilibrium situation are
16 higher than ours. So there's a asymmetry where the
17 best we can do is kind of get up to just world prices
18 being equal to ours. We need a better empirical base.

19 MR. COLEMAN: Thank you.

20 MR. WIECKING: Thank you for coming to
21 this hearing, both of you. We talked in general so
22 far about dairy products, kind of globally dairy

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1 products except for some mentions of there would be an
2 increase presumably in our exports for butter and milk
3 powder, I think you said, to Japan. I'm wondering if
4 you had any other thoughts or estimates on which
5 products in particular would see increased exports if
6 the U.S. tariff modality were in the end agreed to in
7 the DOHA development agenda.

8 MR. CASTANEDA: That's a good question and
9 it's something that we're currently working on. We're
10 developing a specific paper that will actually address
11 or target specific markets that our industry believes
12 that we can actually make significant inroads. I
13 think the message is clearly that we believe if
14 everybody is about the same level on the conversation
15 -- and I may want to add that our original request or
16 proposal was to have a different coefficient than the
17 United States. It was actually a higher coefficient
18 of 50. But again, the main point is that we believe
19 that if everybody is at the same level, I think we can
20 make significant inroads with respect to whether
21 domestic policy will make us more competitive or not.
22 I think we have to see that whatever we agree on

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1 harmonization, it will take a while to reach that
2 point and I think that there's definitely different
3 discussion with respect to future safety nets. There
4 is going to be a safety net for producers. That's
5 without a doubt.

6 But to answer specifically your question,
7 I think we're going to be very competitive on cheese
8 products and products like whey and lactose that are
9 byproducts and we are already competitive, and I think
10 we can be competitive on certain powders of higher
11 technology.

12 MR. WIECKING: Thank you very much.

13 CHAIRMAN EISS: Mr. Castaneda, thank you
14 very much. If you would just check and make sure that
15 our recorders have all the necessary information with
16 regard to the spelling of your name, etcetera. Thank
17 you very much.

18 Our next witness will be Ms. Sarah Thorn,
19 Director, International Trade Grocery Manufacturers of
20 America. Ms. Thorn, welcome.

21 MS. THORN: Thank you. Good afternoon,
22 Mr. Chairman and members of the TPSC. As was stated,

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1 my name is Sarah Fogerty Thorn and I'm the Director of
2 International Trade at the Grocery Manufacturers of
3 America. It's a pleasure to be here today to offer
4 our views on market access issues related to the WTO
5 agriculture negotiations. Just by way of background,
6 GMA is the world's largest association of food,
7 beverage and consumer product companies. With U.S.
8 sales of more than \$460 billion, GMA member companies
9 employ more than 2.5 million workers in all 50 states.

10 As time is limited this afternoon, I'd
11 like to limit my remarks to three main areas. GMA's
12 goals and objectives for the agriculture negotiations,
13 our views on the USTR proposal, and our concern over
14 the increasing prominence of so-called non-trade
15 concerns in the negotiations, in particular in the
16 market access section.

17 As we've noted in previous testimony, GMA
18 is primarily concerned with increasing market access
19 opportunities for the processed food and beverage
20 sector as well for primary agricultural products that
21 serve as ingredients for production globally. The
22 processed food sector remains the fastest growing

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1 sector of agricultural exports and, in fact, if you
2 look at the data, you'll find that since 1997 the
3 consumer oriented agricultural sector is the only
4 growing export sector, far outstripping both bulk and
5 intermediary products. Yet there are significant
6 barriers that limit future growth in this sector.
7 These include tariff peaks, tariff escalation, overly
8 restrictive tariff rate quotas, and the proliferation
9 of non-tariff barriers to trade, especially in the
10 area of discriminatory mandatory labeling policies.

11 Against this background, GMA is extremely
12 supportive of the recent USTR market access proposal.
13 We are particularly pleased with the proposed formula
14 for tariff cuts which we believe is the best way to
15 deal with the aggregation of tariffs that limited
16 gains in our sector during the Uruguay Round. In
17 addition, we also believe that there are a number of
18 sectors, including pet foods, cocoa and cocoa
19 containing products, soups and biscuits, that would
20 benefit from additional zero for zero tariff
21 elimination once formula cuts have been implemented.

22 We also support the comprehensive nature

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1 of the U.S. proposal since we are particularly
2 interested in liberalization and key ingredients such
3 as dairy and sugar. Given that this round is meant
4 to focus on development, we feel that it's
5 particularly appropriate to demonstrate willingness to
6 open markets for commodities where developing
7 countries have a significant comparative advantage.

8 As supportive as we are of the USTR
9 proposal, we are equally concerned about EU demands
10 for inclusion of so-called non-trade concerns in the
11 agriculture negotiations. We believe this is a
12 blatant attempt to expand the DOHA mandate and could
13 seriously undermine liberalization in the core pillars
14 of the negotiations. Let me briefly address our
15 objection to the inclusion of these issues.

16 Over the last several years, we have
17 deflected EU attempts to include the precautionary
18 principle -- I have it in quotes -- "in the Kodak-
19 Slimentarius Commission and other international fora."
20 This new attempt should again be rejected as it was
21 soundly in DOHA. The EU clearly wishes to undermine
22 the science-based disciplines of the SPS agreement and

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1 to allow for regulations based on facts other than
2 science.

3 In addition, the precautionary principle
4 would shift the burden of proof so that countries
5 wishing to export products would be forced to prove
6 that products are safe, not that regulations are
7 justified due to their scientific basis.

8 GMA is equally opposed to new negotiations
9 on geographical indications. We believe negotiations
10 in this area could weaken trade market protections and
11 put many famous brands at risk. Additionally, export
12 opportunities in cheeses and meats could be diminished
13 since we would be prohibited from using commonly
14 understood names such as parmesan, feta, Polish
15 kielbasa and the like. Although we commend U.S.
16 government actions to date to oppose any negotiations
17 in this area, we caution that the EU continues to link
18 progress NGIs with progress in the agriculture
19 negotiations.

20 We encourage U.S. agricultural negotiators
21 to continue to reject this linkage since the issue of
22 geographical indications is clearly an intellectual

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1 property debate.

2 On labeling, we understand that the EU
3 would like to create new guidelines to make explicitly
4 legal mandatory non-product related production
5 labeling schemes. As we mentioned earlier, these
6 types of schemes are often discriminatory and more
7 trade restrictive than necessary. We believe that
8 instead of new guidelines what's truly needed is a
9 more understanding adherence to the existing
10 disciplines in the WTO agreement on technical barriers
11 to trade. To this end, we are encouraged that the TBT
12 Committee will continue to discuss labeling issues.
13 We would recommend that the U.S. government make
14 maximum use of this forum to offset EU demands for new
15 rules.

16 Thank you for the opportunity to testify
17 today. We're very optimistic about the chances for
18 meaningful reform in the processed food sector which
19 will lead to increased choice and more affordable food
20 for consumers globally. We commend USTR on their
21 strong leadership in agricultural negotiations and
22 look forward to continued collaboration as the talks

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1 proceed.

2 CHAIRMAN EISS: Thank you, Ms. Thorn.

3 Mr. Hafemeister.

4 MR. HAFEMEISTER: Ma'am, you in your
5 testimony you identified your interest in more
6 ambitious tariff negotiations including the prospect
7 of going to zero for certain products. Has your
8 organization been in touch with other organizations
9 and can you give us some sense of their interest in
10 pursuing these initiatives.

11 MS. THORN: We work globally through
12 something called the International Council of Grocery
13 Manufacturers Associations which is a loose coalition
14 of GMA-like organizations globally and this is a
15 proposal that we floated to other associations,
16 particularly actually with the Europeans CIAA which
17 represents Europeans. I think while there's general
18 interest, we have not done the basic legwork to make
19 this an absolute priority yet because, quite frankly,
20 we're more interested in the broader formula cut and
21 getting a good formula first and we see that the
22 sector by sector initiatives are something that

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1 compliment the formula cuts and so we've sort of
2 reserved our efforts to seeing how we come out in the
3 formula, how we do within the market access, and then
4 we'll work. But certain subsectors of GMA, I know the
5 Pet Food Institute and pet food are very particularly
6 interested in this and cocoa and cocoa containing
7 products. But as GMA, we have not made the big effort
8 to link that. But we recognize that it has to be a
9 public/private sector cooperation.

10 MR. WIECKING: Good afternoon. You know
11 that part of the DOHA development agenda or an
12 inherent part of that is expected to be special and
13 differential treatment for developing countries. You
14 made, I think, a glancing reference to that in your
15 testimony just now. But I wondered if you could
16 expand. Does your organization feel that developing
17 countries should get S&D treatment in the form of
18 perhaps lesser tariff cuts or special safeguards as
19 came out of the Uruguay Round? Have you given any
20 thought to this?

21 MS. THORN: In a perfect world, there
22 would be no special and differential treatment because

1 essentially what you're saying is that these countries
2 doesn't get to benefit from liberalization until later
3 so they're essentially denying themselves the benefit
4 of agricultural liberalization. I don't think there's
5 any way we can get around having some sort of phase in
6 as we did because you've already set a precedent in
7 the Uruguay Round in terms of staging.

8 What we wouldn't like to see in terms of
9 special and differential treatment is sectors taken
10 off the table. We think that is absolutely not part
11 of a comprehensive negotiation and can undermine the
12 gains. What we'd like to see instead of necessarily
13 special and differential treatment is an increased
14 focus on trade-related capacity building so that
15 developing countries have the opportunity to take
16 advantage of the gains that can be afforded through
17 agricultural trade liberalization because it's
18 actually developing countries and actually in the value
19 added area that you can actually see the real return
20 to developing countries.

21 MR. WIECKING: Thank you.

22 MR. WHITLEY: Good afternoon and thank you

1 for your testimony today. I'm not sure you mentioned
2 it here today but I read through your testimony
3 beforehand and took note of your mentioning about
4 some complex and difficult tariff schemes that your
5 industry faces around the world. Could you elaborate
6 on those and could you talk a little bit about these
7 schemes being converted to either a specific only or
8 ad valorem tariff and is that what your industry is in
9 favor of?

10 MS. THORN: Yes. We had mentioned in our
11 testimony the fact that a lot of our products face
12 very complex tariff formulas in terms of the fact that
13 say a cocoa product or a chocolate product, you go to
14 export to Europe and you've got a specific tariff on
15 the particular ingredients and then -- you know this--
16 and then a more complex ad valorem formula on top of
17 that. So it's very hard actually, even with a brand
18 of product, to even calculate what you're paying in ad
19 valorem terms because if you think of it in a branded
20 product, you have a higher price so you're actually
21 paying a greater weighted average.

22 So what we'd like to see is a little bit

1 more clarity in terms of converting to ad valorem
2 specifically. I think it would be much easier for
3 companies to also recognize the value of the tariff
4 cuts to have a more simplified ad valorem system.

5 MR. WHITLEY: Has your organization
6 undergone any of these exercises in trying to sort
7 through the so-called maze and come up with simpler
8 schemes.

9 MS. THORN: We haven't per se. Particular
10 sectors again. I know that this is particular
11 interest to sort of the chocolate manufacturers and
12 they have proposed a sort of much more simplified
13 process.

14 MR. WHITLEY: Thank you very much.

15 MR. LINSOTT: Thank you, Ms, Thorn, for
16 your testimony. Paragraph 32, subparagraph 3 of the
17 DOHA declaration directs the WTO Committee on Trade
18 and Environment to discuss eco labeling including
19 whether there's any need for clarification on WTO
20 rules on eco labeling or labeling for environmental
21 purposes. Does the GMA believe that existing WTO
22 disciplines in the TBT and SBS agreements are

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1 sufficient to address its concerns related to labeling
2 based on PPMs, processing production methods?

3 MS. THORN: In fact, yes, we do believe
4 that the TBT disciplines are accurate but what we
5 disagree with is whether people are adhering to those
6 disciplines and what we've been noticing globally is
7 a proliferation of mandatory process based labeling
8 that doesn't really look at the core principles of the
9 TBT agreement. What's the objective of the labeling
10 regime? Is this particular regime more trade
11 restrictive or trade discriminatory than necessary? And
12 then is there an alternative need to provide consumer
13 information in a less restrictive way? In the case of
14 eco labeling and eco schemes, a lot of these other
15 sort of mandatory based consumer information labeling
16 schemes, we feel that a voluntary system obviously
17 that would be truthful and not misleading, some sort
18 of criterion, would be far more effective.

19 But yes, we believe that if the TBT rules
20 don't cover labeling, I'm not sure where they are
21 covered. But that's one of the reasons. You know, we
22 have some concerns with the fact that you're having

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1 discussions on labeling in a committee where you don't
2 necessarily have strong rules and we favor a more
3 robust dialogue in the TBT Committee because a lot of
4 these issues are educational issues and we've seen in
5 the last couple of years countries having a more
6 comprehensive understanding of the TBT rules as they
7 apply to labeling.

8 MR. LINSKOTT: Thank you.

9 MS. VALDES: Good afternoon. I have a
10 couple of questions. In your written testimony, you
11 mention that every one billion of export of processed
12 food products support 16,700 jobs compared with 12,700
13 jobs in export commodities. Can you tell us or
14 provide data later on what's the current employment
15 situation in the U.S. processed food industry and if
16 there have been any changes in the last 10 years?

17 MS. THORN: Honestly, I don't have that
18 data off hand. I think in my oral testimony I talked
19 about the fact that we represent roughly 2.5 million
20 workers, but I don't have the graph to demonstrate
21 where we're expanding or contracting unfortunately.

22 MS. VALDES: Okay.

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1 MS. THORN: I can try to find it but I'd
2 probably be going back to ERS for that.

3 MS. VALDES: What job activities are
4 involved in your industry?

5 MS. THORN: Pardon?

6 MS. VALDES: What job activities are
7 involved in your industry? Driver, salesperson,
8 warehouse people.

9 MS. THORN: We represent the manufacturers
10 of food products so we would employ not only the R&D
11 but also the factory workers on the lines producing
12 food products. Some of our companies are more
13 vertically integrated than others. In fact, we
14 contract farmers all the way up through the
15 distribution chain but it depends on the particular
16 company.

17 MS. VALDES: Are you finding qualified
18 workers in the U.S. to meet current employment needs?

19 MS. THORN: Yes. Again, I'm sorry.
20 That's an assumption. I don't have any data to back
21 that up.

22 MS. VALDES: My final question is where

1 primarily are producers processing plants in the U.S.?

2 MS. THORN: Depends on the sector you're
3 looking at. But in general, you see a lot of
4 processing of what you consider traditional grocery
5 products in the Chicago, Illinois area, some in
6 California, New York State, but it really depends
7 because if you're talking about meat processing, it's
8 in the midwest. On labor issues, I quite frankly
9 should mention that fact that the sugar program is
10 detrimental to labor employment in the United States
11 because the prices are so high. You're seeing job
12 flight to be able to serve this market as a residual
13 market through exports. So if you want to look at
14 labor and employment issues, look at sugar.

15 MS. VALDES: Thank you so much.

16 MS. THORN: I had to get it in.

17 CHAIRMAN EISS: Okay. I might ask. I
18 think there would be some interest and if you could
19 perhaps either consider elaborating on additional data
20 with respect to the questions about the trends in
21 employment in your industry to the extent from your
22 membership you can glean some additional information

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1 about the job differentiation, we would certainly
2 welcome that. There certainly is opportunity to
3 provide additional information for the record.

4 And with that, I would like to thank you
5 for your time and for your statements and for your
6 responsiveness to the questions and I declare the
7 hearing adjourned.

8 (The hearing was adjourned at 2:40 p.m.)
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